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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE

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VOL. 23, NO. 32 WILLIAM GREEN, President WASHINGTON, D. C., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1933 FRANK MORRISON, Secretary WHOLE NO. 1174

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.—Lincoln.

Organize, or Perish, Gen. Johnson Demands at Federation Convention

Employers Must Cooperate With Workers, and Both With Government Under Sternly Enforced Rules for Protection of the Public If Depression Is to Be Routed and Dire Consequences Avoided, Recovery Administrator Declares.

Washington.—Employers must cooperate with workers and both must organize thoroughly to cooperate with Government if President Roosevelt's national recovery program is to succeed, Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, Recovery Administrator, told the convention of the American Federation of Labor in an address on the scope and purpose of the National Recovery Act. Government, while cooperating to the utmost, also must sternly referee what he foresees will be at times a bitter battle of last-ditchers to see that there is no gouging of each other in the clinches and that powerful industrial organizations do not, separately or in collusion, commit mayhem on the public.

Declaring that the day of pioneering in this country is gone forever, that the machinery of industry and commerce has become so complex and soulless that no individual can play more than an integrated part, and that no doorway longer opens to a life of high adventure, he pictured the need of the NRA in two vividly sweeping paragraphs:

"On the side of the industry the size and complexity of the modern system has become ruthless beyond relief. As the condition of each great business group has been disclosed here in these public hearings, which have already searched the bulk of industry and commerce, it has become daily more certain that the jungle law of survival by economic mayhem and murder must be amended, and no one who has given attention to these astonishing disclosures can doubt this.

"The organization of industry—the creation of a tribunal of fair practice within each industry—the enforcement of rules against economic anarchy—all these things are vitally and immediately necessary. They are necessary to industry, but they are more necessary for workers for—mark me and mark me well—there is not a destructive war of price cutting below cost—no retrograde movement in industrial production—no vicious downward spiral, that does not result in the degradation of workers.

General Johnson elaborated upon this theme, commended organized labor and its leadership for its active support of the President's program, which he said has been subjected as to every major detail to the President's personal scrutiny, and demanded like support from every element of the population, in a characteristically vigorous speech.

The full text of General Johnson's address appears on page three of this issue of the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service.

Catholic Church Sympathy For Labor Is Assured by Dr. John A. Ryan

Pastor of St. Patrick's Church Preaches at Special Mass Honoring A. F. of L. Convention Delegates—Declares Labor Organization Is Necessary Under NRA—Supports Shorter Hours and Higher Wages.

Washington.—Assurance that all legitimate labor organization has approval of the Catholic Church, and that it is particularly sympathetic with American labor leaders in their attempts to work out the problems confronting modern industry was given American Federation of Labor delegates attending a special Mass at St. Patrick's Church here, in a sermon by the Very Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, D. D., pastor.

The text of Dr. Ryan's sermon follows, in full:

Reason for This Observance

When the Right Reverend Pastor of St. Patrick's Church invited the delegates to the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be present at Mass this morning and to listen to a special sermon, he was continuing a custom which has been observed in other churches for many years on similar occasions.

The convention Mass for the delegates has become a fixed institution. Some curious person might ask why Catholic pastors give this peculiar honor to the representatives of labor.

Why does not some Catholic church invite to a special Mass the delegates of other occupational organizations during their annual conventions; for example, the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce or the American Farm Bureau Federation?

Of course, every Catholic church welcomes the members of every legitimate organization to its services, but it gives special recognition to labor conventions for two reasons: first because a large proportion of the delegates desire this consideration and, second, because the labor unions are contending for social justice.

Their primary aims are indeed economic, just as are those of the other organizations that I have just mentioned, but the economic aims of labor include a specifically moral element, namely, a more just distribution of the goods and opportunities available under our industrial system.

Church Approves Labor Organization

No doubt, most, if not all of you are familiar with the declarations of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI on the subject of labor organization.

Many of you have heard or read more than once the following declaration by Pope Leo XIII: "We may lay it down as a general and perpetual law, that workmen's associations should be so organized and governed as to furnish the best and most suitable means for attaining what is aimed at; that is to say, for helping each individual member to better his condition to the utmost in body, mind and property."

In these United States, experience has abundantly proved that the only kind of associations complying with the rule laid down by Pope Leo are the regular national unions, organized and maintained by the workers themselves, independently of any assistance, benevolent or non-benevolent, provided by their employers.

The present Holy Father quoted Pope Leo's statement and gave it explicit approval. In another part of his great Encyclical he condemned rulers who were hostile to labor unions and Catholics who viewed labor organization with suspicion.

Special Significance of the 1933 Convention

Your meeting this year has greater significance and importance than any previous convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Its superior significance is derived from the recognition of the right to organize contained in Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

In a sense, the rights specified in that section were already possessed by wage earners, but subject to agreement on the part of employers. The unique and surpassing value of these provisions is that they compel employers to permit the effective exercise of these rights. This is a great gain not only for the workers but for justice.

Experience has shown only too conclusively that unless employers are required to deal with the genuine representatives of the unions and to refrain from discriminating against union members, the bargaining power of labor is not adequately safeguarded.

Without this protection labor is unable to secure just conditions of employment.

It is no exaggeration to say that Section 7 of the National Industrial Recovery Act represents the greatest legislative victory every achieved by labor in the United States.

Your convention this year is unusually important because of the great increase which has taken place since last year in your membership and because of the very large part which you are called upon to take in the enforcement of the conditions set up by the National Recovery Administration.

In all probability the contribution which your organization both nationally and through the local unions can make toward the prevention of all forms of "chiseling" whether against the employee or against the consumer will be greater even than that afforded by the Govrnmnt itself.

Other Ethical Gains for Labor

The provisions for minimum wages and the shorter work-week in the various industrial codes represent gains for labor and for social justice which were undreamed of by the delegates to your convention in 1932 or, indeed, by anyone else.

While the minimum rates established are in few, if any, cases adequate to the demands of justice, they are probably as high as are practicable in present conditions.

You are aware, I am sure, of the great dilemma which confronts those who are trying to bring about industrial recovery.

Many employers and business men are unable to expend very much larger sums for wages than they were expending a year ago.

They will be able to do that if they can sell more goods, but they can't sell more goods until the buying power of the masses is increased.

There is your dilemma. Which is going to come first, and which is the more important? So for the present at least it would seem that the moderation which is exemplified in some of these minimum wage rates, these relatively low rates, although much higher than many of those which were formerly paid, represent wisdom and even justice.

One of the important tasks before your organization is to obtain an increase in these rates as soon as it is industrially feasible and in harmony with existing regulations.

Another important task is to maintain as a rule the previously existing differentials between the minimum rates and those received by the better paid workers in each industry.

Some of you have been afraid of minimum wage legislation for fear the minimum would become the maximum.

Now that the principle of the minimum has been legally established, your great concern should be to safeguard and expand it, and to prevent it from becoming a flat rate for the workers who have heretofore received higher remuneration.

With regard to the shorter workweek, you have likewise a very important task before you and a very grave responsibility; that is, to bring about a reduction of the hours already fixed in most of the codes, so that they will, except in rare instances, not exceed 30 per week.

Necessity for Prudence

This is essential to that reduction of unemployment which is necessary and to that degree of industrial recovery which is easily possible.

The ethical as well as the economic evils of vast unemployment are sufficient evidence that this endeavor is in the direction of moral improvement and social justice.

The considerable opposition offered by employers to the labor provisions in the National Industrial Recovery Act, to the thirty-hour week and to the prospect that capital will have to be content with less in order that labor may obtain more, are lamentable, but you should realize that it is entirely natural.

Employers and capitalists are asked to give up a large measure of the power and domination to which they have long been accustomed and to renounce what they have long regarded as a vested right to at least six per cent interest.

On this point I should like to stress the fact that it seems to me a mathematical certainty that if labor is to get a greater share of the product of industry—and that is involved in this whole effort, to increase the purchasing power of labor—if labor is to get a greater share capital will have to take less. I don't see any way out of it.

We are talking of justice here all the time, and if justice were not involved in charity I would not have any business in this pulpit talking to you. Is that a just expectation or requirement to put upon capital?

Well, Pope Pius XI has something to say of justice as regards capital. He says both capital and labor have a right to a share of the product. How much he does not say, except for labor he says an ample sufficiency, which he draws out and defines in rather specific terms.

How much right has capital? The right to whatever is in harmony with the common good and social justice.

Assume that the common good at this time requires that capital should get only two or three per cent instead of six. Then that is a just rate.

At least that seems to be indicated by the considerable decline in rates of return and that seems to be necessary until we get out of this emergency.

You recall what I said a few moments ago about the difficulty of paying the higher wages to make a larger output, which depend themselves upon larger sales, and at the same time the larger sales are not forthcoming unless a larger amount is given labor.

It is not a simple matter at all, and the forebearance and reasonableness with which all classes deal with this will determine whether this NRA movement is going to succeed or fail.

These advantages and claims they are now called upon to moderate considerably as as an essential condition of industrial recovery.

Their point of view ought to receive sympathetic consideration, not angry denunciation, even though it is a point of view which cannot be permitted to retain its sway.

Forbearance is necessary also with regard to strikes and to jurisdictional disputes. No doubt the failure of employers to live up to the obligations of the industrial codes is irritating, but it ought not to provoke angry or violent retaliation.

Not only general welfare but labor itself will gain more in the long run if these situations and emergencies are met and disposed of through the processes of conciliation and arbitration.

The main reason for jurisdictional disputes is well understood by all competent students of our industrial conditions. The over-supply of labor compels each class to strive to obtain all the work that it can for its members.

When the 30-hour week becomes universal, that source of jurisdictional disputes ought to disappear. Until that day arrives, it would be better for labor as well as for the community to have each dispute immediately decided by some such artificial device as the flip of a coin, rather than to permit it to be protracted.

Your responsibility toward the NRA recovery movement is in proportion to your economic strength and your qualities of character.

In this emergency your power is greater than it has ever been before and your conduct during the prolonged industrial depression shows that you are capable of great patience and forbearance.

If the NRA movement fails, the consequences and alternatives will be such as no patriotic American, no lover of his kind, is willing to contemplate or to encounter.

This is another reason why your responsibility at this time is of the greatest magnitude.

I have already pointed out that the special interest of the Church in the cause of labor arises from the fact that this cause is bound up with the achievement of a greater measure of social justice.

Conclusion

More than once when I have been engaged in pleading for the rights of labor, I have been asked why I should not occasionally concern myself with the rights of capital.

My answer has always been that the rights of the former are not nearly so well secured as the rights of the latter.

When the day comes that capital occupies the weaker position and the rights of capital are more generally disregarded than the rights of labor, then I shall cheerfully busy myself with the cause of capital.

While I do not expect to live that long I should welcome the opportunity to make at least a partial shift of allegiance because the situation would then be that which Pope Pius XI declared should be the goal of our efforts, namely that "a just share only of the fruits of production be permitted to accumulate in the hands of the wealthy and that an ample sufficiency be supplied to the working man."

Until that happy day arrives, all lovers of justice will feel called upon to emphasize the rights of labor.

A. F. OF L. DEMANDS HIGHER TEACHERS' PAY

Convention Also Condemns Discrimination in Salary Paid to Men and Women Teachers and Insists that Promotion be Made on the Basis of Service Rendered.

Washington.—The annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in session here vigorously condemned the notorious underpayment of teachers and the tendency of school boards and officials to differentiate between men and women teachers to the advantage of the latter.

The convention also made a firm declaration regarding the fundamental relation of the teaching profession to the promotion of character building and social welfare.

The resolution adopted by the convention said:

"Labor has been compelled to acknowledge the necessity of wage cuts in some of the competitive industries, but education is a social industry not in the competitive field in which this necessity does not enter.

"We maintain that teachers' salaries should be established on the following basis:

"(1) Basic subsistence.

"(2) Provision for emergencies.

"(3) Reasonable comfort and decency in living standards.

"(4) Professional culture and study.

"We maintain that there should be no discrimination in the amount of salary paid to men and women teachers, and that payment of salary should be made and promotion granted on the basis of the service rendered without regard to the sex, the race, the religion, or the social status, including marriage, of the teachers concerned.

"We hold also that for equal and required qualifications and preparation for professional work, the salary should be the same in whatever grade a person may be teaching.

"We propose that the lowest salary paid in any locality to a professionally qualified teacher shall not be less than will provide him or her with proper living conditions, economic security, and opportunity for professional improvement. We propose also that proper basic salaries shall be protected by minimum wage laws."

Many other safeguards, for security of tenure, proper working conditions and reasonable hours of employment were demanded.

SHORTER FEDERAL WORK WEEK URGED

Resolution Adopted by A. F. of L. Supports Contention Government Should Set Example for Private Industry in Treatment of U. S. Employes.

Washington.—The Federal Government was called upon to set an example for private employers by according its workers a six-hour day and five-day week in a resolution presented by John P. Frey, Delegate of the Metal Trades Department.

The Committee on Shorter Work Day recommended concurrence of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in this resolution, its report, which was unanimously adopted, explaining its stand as follows:

"Your committee is completely in accord with the principles of this resolution, but believes that the best results for labor will be accomplished by the American Federation of Labor if our officers will constantly recognize the efforts now being made by our Government to achieve industrial recovery through the channels of the National Recovery Act.

"Should the anticipated results of the NRA, in the judgment of our officers, fail to materialize because of concerted and persistent opposition to shorter working hours by combinations of employers in the many and diverse industries of the nation, the committee strongly recommends that the resolution shall then be complied with to the fullest extent that is possible."

Organized Labor Again Demands 30-Hour Week, Without Wage Cut

Convention Unanimously Adopts Resolution Holding This to Be Prime Necessity If Fair Proportion of Unemployed Are to Be Given Jobs and Buying Power Created to Support Normal Industrial Operations.

Washington.—The American Federation of Labor Convention reiterated and emphasized its demand for the 30-hour week without pay reduction it long has advocated as a prime necessity if the majority of unemployed are to be put back on their jobs with a buying power that will start and keep turning the wheels of a now largely silenced industry.

The report submitted by John Simmons, secretary of the committee on Shorter Work Day, was adopted unanimously. It concludes:

"Your committee, in concluding this survey of widespread and persistent unemployment, sharply decreased consuming power and the economic depression which so vitally affects each individual and every avenue of our national life now declares that the needs of this deplorable situation demand that there be a drastic shortening of labor hours as the only remedy for this dire problem.

"We further declare that such reduction in labor hours should carry no reduction in pay, but, on the contrary, wages should be maintained and steadily increased in conformity with present-day needs.

"We further insist that the adoption of this program is imperative to create work opportunities for all willing workers, including young men and women now on the threshold of industrial life, and as the only means of conquering the scourge of depression now oppressing our nation.

"our committee therefore recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its indorsement of the 6-hour day, 5-day work week without reduction in pay, which it now declares to be our paramount objective, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give the utmost force and direction to this program in order to secure its universal adoption at the earliest possible time.

"We further recommend that the Executive Council be directed to resolutely continue their efforts until the 6-hour day, 5-day work week, without any reduction in pay, is included in every code adopted under the National Recovery Act."

Amalgamated Clothing Workers Granted American Federation of Labor Charter

Washington.—The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor made the following report to the Federtion's convention here regarding the application for a charter made by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America:

"This organization was formed in 1914 by a group of delegates withdrawing from the convention of the United Garment Workers of America, an affiliated organization of the American Federation of Labor, at the Nashville Convention of that organization, because the local unions represented by the withdrawing delegates were not paid up in per capita tax as required by the laws of the United Garment Workers of America, in some cases in arrears for as much as a year or longer, and for that reason were refused representation and seats in the Convention.

"Recently in an effort to work together under the NRA program of the Government, both organizations reached an agreement which provides that both organizations are to retain the firms and membership they now have, and which makes certain other provisions as to the field of jurisdiction in the clothing industry of each of these two organizations.

"It is definitely understood that the charter of affiliation is granted upon the written assurance that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will neither accept nor retain into membership teamsters, machinists, engineers, firemen, electrical workers or any other workers who come under the jurisdiction of other International and National Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Any and all workers herein referred to who may now be members of locals affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will be immediately transferred to the different organizations granted jurisdiction over them by the American Federation of Labor. Copies of agreements signed are on file as a part of the rcords of th Executive Council and of the permanent records of the American Federation of Labor.

"Both organizations have agreed with the Executive Council that it is the ultimate purpose of the officers of both organizations to organize the men and boys' clothing and furnishing industry, including men's and boys' suits, shirts, work garments of all kinds, uniforms, etc., completely and to definitely establish the line of jurisdiction between the two organizations so that conflict and controversy may be avoided. They agree further with the Executive Council to set up a tribunal by mutual agreement within the American Federation of Labor at the earliest possible date, to which jurisdiction disputes which cannot be settled directly may be referred for final decision.

"The Council decides that in issuing the charter to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers it defines and limits the jurisdiction of this organization to the jurisdiction conceded to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers by the United Garment Workers of America in an agreement entered into between both organizations on August 18, 1933, and in an addenda agreement entered into on October 5, 1933.

"The Executive Council submits this report with a feeling of deep satisfaction. The fact that the representatives of two organizations functioning in the same industrial field have brought about the termination of conflict and jurisdictional controversy which existed for a number of years, is deeply significant and indicative of the new spirit which seems to, and which ought to influence both the representatives and membership of organized labor.

"The Council commends President Rickert and his associates of the United Garment Workers of America and President Hillman and his associates representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America upon the consummation of an agreement which makes it possible for the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter of affiliation to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

"Only an unselfish desire to promote the highest and best interests of the workers associated with the men's and boys' clothing industry could inspire the officers of the two organizations affected to subordinate personal considerations in order to reach an agreement defining their respective jurisdictions.

"The Executive Council interprets this highly important step which has been taken by the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America as constructive in character and as having been made in the interests of the working people directly involved and of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

"We welcome the thousands of new members who as a result of this agreement will take their place in affiliation with the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

"The Executive Council feels that the delegates in attendance at the Fifty-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the millions of workers represented will share with the members of the Executive Council the deep satisfaction which they feel over the agreement which was reached between the representatives of the two organizations involved."

GERMAN JOBS GAIN AS PAY CUTS LOWER BUYING POWER

Berlin.—Germany's energetic campaign for employment under the Hitler government is getting results, but wages are being cut and total purchasing power is making little gain. The number of registered unemployed decreased from 6,100,000 to 4,550,000 between January 30 and July 1 last, accordig to official figures. Including those not registered, it is estimated that the total unemployed on July 31 numbered about 7,000,000, or 1,000,000 less than six months earlier.

Gains in employment are most pronounced in agricultural areas and unemployment in heavy industries has been little reduced. Plans for big public works, to aid heavy industry, have been widely announced, but between the planning and the actual beginning of work much time must elapse.

Wagner Says Code Hours Must Be Reduced and Code Wages Raised

Chairman of National Labor Board Declares Work Week Should Be Shortened Sufficiently to Provide Jobs for Millions of Idle and Pay Boosted to Increase Living Standards of Workers and Promote Prosperity Through Larger Buying Power.

Washington.—Courteous yet positive criticism of the failure of the hours prescribed in NRA codes to absorb the vast army of jobless workers and the manifest insufficiency of code wages to provide the buying power imperatively necessary to improve living standards and restore prosperity was one of the outstanding features of the address by Robert F. Wagner, United States Senator from New York, author of the National Recovery Act and chairman of the National Labor Board, before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor here.

Friend of Labor

In presenting Senator Wagner to the convention, William Green, president of the A. F. of L., said "there is no man in public life who is held in higher esteem by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor than is Senator Wagner. All his life he has shown a fine spirit of understanding and has manifested deep sympathy with the high and honorable aims of labor."

After the prolonged applause which greeted his presentation to the convention, Senator Wagner said:

"To begin with, I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your very generous reception.

"On the occasion of the greatest convention in the history of the American Federation of Labor, I rise to extol the American worker upon a record of patient heroism almost unique in the annals of the world.

Millions Unemployed

"During the four years following January 1, 1929, the volume of unemployment in this country rose from approximately four million to thirteen and one-half, and the index of factory payrolls dropped from 94 to 35.

"These startling disparities do not represent a shrinkage in paper profits, a change in the color of ink upon books, or other losses which agitate the nerves but which may be recouped upon the upswing of the business cycle.

"They evidence an almost incredible amount of physical suffering and acute

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Farley Commends AFL for Support Of Roosevelt's Recovery Program

Postmaster General Ridicules Employers' Theory that Low Wages and Long Hours Promote Prosperity—New Deal Includes Higher Pay, Shorter Work Week, and Improved Living Standards for Working Men and Women—Labor's Help Necessary.

Washington. — Strong commendation of the support given by organized labor to President Roosevelt's recovery drive, characterized the address of Postmaster General Farley before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor here.

He declared that the new deal includes the underlying ideals of the labor movement, denied that low wages and long hours, still the pet theory of many employers, are essential to prosperity, and expressed confidence in the ultimate success of the entire recovery program.

Wages and Recovery

On the actual and potential achievements of the National Recovery Act and the relationship of organized labor to the complete success of the recovery program Postmaster General Farley said:

"It is now generally recognized that all prosperity depends upon building up anew the purchasing power of the masses.

"There was a time in the not too distant past when many persons held the view that wages should be low and hours of labor long if business and commerce were to prosper. I doubt that it would be possible to find anybody today to defend that theory.

"The tremendous productive capacity of our farms and factories can find a profitable market only if the masses of the population have the means with which to purchase not only the necessities of life but many of the luxuries as well.

Increased Buying Power Essential

"There can be no doubt that the widespread use and ownership of automobiles, for example, has been a powerful factor in building up American industry.

"Yet it is perfectly obvious that this expansion could not take place unless the bulk of our population were in a position to purchase them.

"It is nothing new to say that after all our chief problem is not one of overproduction but rather one of under-consumption.

"I repeat the statement here because it cannot be made too clear and because

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Complete Organization of Workers Necessary Under the Recovery Act

Rev. F. J. Haas, Member of Labor Advisory Board of Recovery Administration, Says Strong National Trade Unions Are Essential to Parallel Employers' Organizations Set Up in Fair Practice Codes—"Merit" Clause in Codes Denounced.

Washington.—The complete and unrestricted organization of the workers of the United States into bona fide trade unions was emphatically stressed as necessary to secure and maintain their liberty under the National Recovery in an address on "Freedom Through Unionization" before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor by Rev. Francis J. Haas, Ph.D., director of the National Catholic School of Social Service and a member of the Labor Advisory Board of the National Recovery Administration.

He declared that the company union and open shop principle yields no other fruit than disorganization, which results in "low wages, low purchasing power, underconsumption, unemployment, and human slavery. In direct opposition, organization means high wages high purchasing power, adequate consumption, and ample livelihood for all."

He emphasized the necessity of accepting the "spiritual side of man," and denounced the commodity theory of human labor as an "iniquitous principle" thoroughly opposed by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish bodies. He supported his insistence on high wages and thorough organization of the workers with excerpts from the Encyclical "Forty Years After" by Pope Pius XI.

Recovery Act and the Workers

In discussing the relation of the National Recovery Act to the welfare of working men and women and the imperative need of strong trade unions in order to obtain the benefits made possible by the Act, Father Haas said:

"By the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act the government intervenes in industry. That is the fact. But by a strange anomaly, more intervention means less intervention.

"Put more correctly, the new intervention calls a halt to that of the past.

"Still more correctly, the new legislation permits workers to do what the government itself assisted in preventing them from doing before.

"In this very important way it has

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Government's Work Saving Workers' Homes From Mortgage Owners Greed

William S. Stevenson, Administrator of Federal Home Loan System, Tells A. F. of L. Convention What Uncle Sam Is Doing to Save the Homes of American Toilers, Plastered with Twenty-one Billion Dollars of Mortgages, from Being Sold Out.

Washington.—The work which the United States Government is doing to save the mortgaged homes of the American masses from being sold to satisfy the greed of mortgage owners was interestingly described by William F. Stevenson, chairman of the Federal Home Loan Board and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, in an address before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor in session here.

"The Home Loan Bank System is doing a splendid work," Mr. Stevenson said. "It has authorized $75,237,039.50 of loans to its member building and loan institutions; of this $65,000,000 has actually been advanced—$44,282,187 since March 4th. They are paying their own expenses and that of the Home Loan Bank Board in Washington and are thus not costing the Government anything.

Homes Mortgaged for 21 Billions

"They are driving to build up a great reserve of credit, confined to long time financing of home loans, which will be permanent and is rendered necessary by the temporary retirement of some insurance companies and other great financial institutions from that field.

"There are $21,000,000,000 of mortgages on homes in the United States and to finance them in the future will require such a cooperative institution with vast resources and the Home Loan System was designed and is being fostered and developed for that purpose.

"The public who desire to invest in loans of that kind will be able to do so without having the trouble and expense of taking individual mortgages but will be able to buy the bonds of the Home Loan Banks which will be backed by 150 per cent of real estate home mortgage. For each $1,000 bond issued, there are pledged $1,500 of home mortgages.

"So the capitalists and the home owners are brought together in this way to their mutual benefit. There is no antagonism to the great insurance and trust companies who have heretofore handled these loans, many of whom are

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Wagner Says Code Hours Must Be Reduced and Code Wages Raised

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mental anguish that spread as a plague over several million families, injuring them for a lifetime.

"In the face of this disaster, the worker, who has borne the greatest burdens, has maintained his selfcontrol and group discipline, preserved his family ideals, and helped his stricken comrades.

A. F. of L.'s Stabilizing Influence

"Despite an economic decline more sweeping than that which befell Germany, France, England, Italy, or Japan, this same worker has retained unswerving faith in democratic institutions and has risen to participate equally with all others in the task of peaceful economic reconstruction.

"No such record would be possible without fine leadership. President Green and the other officers of the American Federation of Labor have been temperate in council despite intense grief at the plight of their people, and they are now contributing tremendously to the work of the recovery administration.

"I shall never forget, my friends, the gloomy days of last March.

"Banks were closed, three men in every eight were out of work, panic was threatening to insinuate itself into the minds of the most resolute, and no catastrophe was too fanciful for expectation.

Wage and Job Gains in Seven Months

"Seven months have elapsed, and what changes do we find? Business activity has increased 24 per cent, and three million people have been reemployed.

"Weekly wage payments had risen 40 million dollars by early September, increasing the real purchasing power of workers by 17 per cent and being reflected by a 16 per cent gain in department store sales.

"Our whole industrial machinery is throbbing like a great ship leaving the perilous narrows and entering the open sea of prosperity.

"The completion of the major codes under the Recovery Act has contributed immensely to this progress.

"Average minimum wage rates have risen from about 7 dollars to nearly 15, and hours have dropped from 55 or 60 to 40 and less per week.

"It is estimated that over 5 million people will be reemployed simply by the operation of all the codes.

"Of even happier significance is the new feeling of confidence in our ability to win and maintain prosperity. Courage in the face of depression was laudable. But to accept it as the inevitable fate of mankind was tragic.

Millions Still Unemployed

"Despite the pleasing gains which have been made, they have been confined to preliminary encounters with the forces of depression.

"The real battle lies ahead, for there are over 10 million men and women who are still walking the streets in an agonized search for the means of livelihood. If they are not helped quickly, our successes will be washed away in a deluge.

"It has become almost a commonplace to say that the satisfactory adjustment of wages is the central economic problem of today.

Wages Should Be Raised

"They must be paid in sufficient volume to absorb the full plant capacities of industry.

"We have merely scratched the surface of this problem. Payrolls are still 48 per cent below the 1926 level. They have lagged so far behind industrial activity that production, which rose 65 per cent from April to August, lost one-third of this gain in the single month following.

"As a matter of fact, during the past 60 days, we have had to adjust production downward to meet purchasing power.

"The proper course is to raise wages up to meet production.

"This is the way to improve standards of living and take full advantage of our unrivaled natural and technical resources.

Cost of Living Menace

"There remains also the unsolved problem of coordinating wages and prices. Thus far, as I have said, there has been a gain of 17 per cent in the purchasing power of wages.

"But retail prices have mounted rapidly, and wholesale prices have made stupendous jumps, being 56 per cent higher in August than in March.

"The increases in the cost of living must be met by increases in the wages with which goods are bought.

"In addition, the increased volume of total wages is due almost entirely to gains in employment and to rises in the minimum scales.

"Aside from this, there have not been appreciable changes in rates of pay, and consequently the improvements in standards of living have not been general and all-inclusive.

Real Wages Decline

"Due to the rise in prices, there have actually been some declines in real wages.

"In view of these facts, it is essential to give constant attention to wage revision.

"Some of the minimum scales should be higher, and perhaps it may be necessary to go further along the line of regulating all wages.

"Certainly it will be necessary to change all schedules periodically so that they may conform to general economic trends.

Labor's Share of National Wealth

"Wage improvements under the New Deal should not be simply enough to keep factories going.

"Wages must be fixed with reference to a social program which intends to insure everyone a comfortable living and to give labor its just share of national wealth.

Shorter Hours to End Unemployment

"The same thing is true of hours of labor.

"The time is near when increased leisure and opportunities for self-development will come to all as a product of prosperity, rather than to a few as a cure for depression.

"Only thus can the riddle of technological unemployment be solved.

"During the years 1919-1929, production in manufacturing rose almost 50 per cent, and at the same time the number of people engaged in this work actually decreased.

"The issue is squarely put: Shall our mechanical ingenuity bring unemployment and suffering to a large number of blameless victims, or shall it be made to serve the interests of all the people?

Labor's Rights Under Recovery Act

"I do not see how there can be any disagreement about the meaning of Section 7a.

"It can not be qualified by language inside of a code or outside of a code.

"The majority of workers in a plant may be represented by someone in the plant or outside of the plant.

"They may choose a union or someone else.

"Their rights are coextensive with the liberties of business men in choosing directors, executives and spokesmen to deal with labor.

"This equality is the essence of the Recovery Act. Without it, the program must fail.

"If the recovery program depends upon the intelligent participation of labor, it depends upon the growth of sane, constructive unions.

"I congratulate the American Federation of Labor upon having added one-and-a-third million men to its roll this year.

"I am glad that the ranks of organized labor have reached five millions.

"I believe that cooperation among workers has potentialities for general way about the attempts of business men to rationalize their activities." national benefits, and I feel the same

Deprecates Strikes

At the conclusion of his address Senator Wagner said he deprecated strikes as a hindrance to the speed of recovery and urged that workers refer all labor disputes to the various local agencies set up by the Government to adjust differences arising under the NRA with final appeal to the National Labor Board when local boards are unable to effect conciliation.

Farley Commends AFL for Support Of Roosevelt's Recovery Program

(Continued from Page 1)

the recognition of this fact lies at the foundation of the entire plan of industrial recovery.

"We must find the means of increasing the consuming power of the public. That can be done only by increasing the opportunities for gainful employment.

2,800,000 Idle Given Work

"The splendid reception which the President's National Recovery Drive has had in every section of the country and the remarkable results which have been accomplished to date indicate that we have started in the right direction.

"We have well authenticated reports showing that in seven months 2,800,000 working men and women have been put back to work.

"Payrolls have increased at the rate of $3,720,000,000 a year, work hours have been decreased, and the groundwork laid for additional employment.

Jobs for Thousands on Public Works

"More than a billion and one-half dollars have already been allocated by the Public Works Administration and it is estimated that the projects now being initiated will not only put thousands of men to work in the construction of roads and in the erection of buildings, but will make necessary the employment of hundreds of thousands of others in supplying the raw materials, the equipment and the furnishings of all kinds which will be needed to complete the tasks.

Child Labor Abolished

"Child labor has been abolished.

"Provision has been made to relieve the strain upon the owners of homes in carrying their mortgages incurred in more prosperous times.

"Unemployment relief has proceeded rapidly and in many sections of the country there has been, I am told, a substantial lessening of the demand for charity.

"The banking system of the country has been placed upon a firm foundation. Credit is being released and the spirit of confidence is gradually being built up.

United Action Required

"If this progress is to be maintained, we must continue to move in an orderly manner.

"Nothing is more important at this juncture, it seems to me, than the maintenance of this spirit of confidence and this can be accomplished only if all sections of the recovery parade move in unison.

"One element cannot attempt to move faster than the other because each depends absolutely upon the other.

Labor's Support Necessary

"I have always believed in plain speaking and I know that the members of this convention will understand me when I say that organized labor can make a mighty contribution to the success of this great movement by continuing to exhibit not only upon the part of its leaders, as has been eminently the case, but also upon the part of the rank and file, a recognition of the patriotic cooperation which the great majority of the employers of labor have rendered to the President's recovery program.

Wages Increased, Hours Reduced

"There can be no doubt that great numbers of individual employers, great numbers of industrial corporations and business houses, have increased wages and lowered hours without knowing exactly how they would find the means with which to finance this expansion.

"We must make this task easier for them by reposing complete confidence in the good sense and sound judgment of the loyal men and women to whom the President has committed the administration of the National Recovery Act.

People Have Faith in President

"Credit and confidence and mutual esteem, mutual reliance upon one another, constitute, after all, the life-blood of our social and economic system.

"Everywhere I have gone since the beginning of this Administration and all the reports which I have received from all parts of the country, show the inspiring and unanimous faith which the American people have today in the President.

"He is marking the road to a new era and by the extent to which we support his hands by helping to carry out the policies which he has initiated, we shall measure our willingness to help him realize his objectives.

New Deal Reflects Labor's Principles

"The underlying ideals of the labor movement, namely, the establishment of a living wage, the improvement of labor conditions, the shortening of the hours of labor, are the principles which lie at the basis of the New Deal.

"To the accomplishment of these ideals our whole economic structure is dedicated because all business and all industry realize now as never before that the advantage of all is best served when opportunity is broadened for all.

Entering New Era

"From the very beginning of the recovery effort, emphasis has been laid upon the purpose of the Administration to bring about results by conference and adjustment, by reason and intelligence rather than by force.

"Nothing should be permitted to interfere with this method and I'm sure you will allow me to say that the continued confidence of the public in the determination of labor as well as of industry to pursue this course, is most essential to continued success.

"For myself, I have no hesitation in making the prediction that the movement which was so auspiciously started last March, will steadily gain momentum.

"We are entering a new era of American history in which the improved standard of living for all will justify the high hopes and the great sacrifices of the patriots who founded and who have preserved this government."

Complete Organization of Workers Necessary Under the Recovery Act

(Continued from Page 1)

extended freedom to all wage-earners. It allows them to organize; it allows them to help themselves; it allows them to be free men.

Restricts Antiunion Employers

"Section 7a of the NIRA is well known to you. It is permissive and at the same time it is mandatory.

"It is permissive in the sense that it leaves workers free to organize and to choose what kind of organization and what representatives they want.

"It is mandatory in the sense that it must be incorporated in every Code and, what is still more important, it prohibits an employer from preventing workers to form whatever kind of unions they wish to form.

New Charter for the Workers

"Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act is in all truth the new charter for labor.

"But we should not forget that a legal charter does not create human rights. A man has human rights because he is a man. A charter merely permits him to exercise those rights.

"Collective bargaining is a human right, rooted in man himself. In a machine society it is as much his right to exercise it as to use his hands or his feet or his eyes. Can any right rest on firmer ground?

"The collective wage contract has the same basis in human beings as government itself has. Both are founded on human necessity.

Commodity Theory of Labor Opposed

"The labor movement must accept the spiritual side of man. Otherwise—and I speak advisedly—it is lost and has no solid basis for its claim. The commodity theory of labor is definitely anti-labor doctrine. It regards a worker merely as oil or coal for the energy that can be gotten out of him.

"I denounce this iniquitous principle, which is the basic cause of national chaos, and when I do so I speak with the voice of the highest authority in my Church.

"And incidentally, I might support what I am saying with the fine statements that have been issued by the various Protestant and Jewish bodies here in our country.

Nationwide Unions Necessary

"The need of complete and unrestricted unionization in the United States was never more urgent than it is at this moment.

"The NIRA has made two very important concessions to the powerful corporations of the country. The law permits them to organize in a way that makes for, first, maintenance of price and secondly, restriction of output.

"I need not tell you that in the past many industries have, in defiance of the anti-trust laws, organized in order to fix prices.

"The vital point here and now is that workers must make use of concessions parallel to those that government has made to employers.

"Need I add that the government cannot and does not intend to force workers to organize? This workers must do for themselves.

Free Collective Bargaining

"Organization means far more than the company union. Organization must be intercompany. It must be national. It must be independent and supported by the workers themselves.

"Collective bargaining under the New Deal must be as free as the law itself. There may be no restriction on the workers' choice of representatives.

"Telling workers that they are free only within limits, that is, that they must confine their choice of spokesmen to their fellow workers who are paid by the employer, is a most autocratic and arrogant and presumptious claim.

"No one would think of saying to employers that they had the right to form trade associations but that they had to choose their representatives from those actually engaged in an industry.

"Surely by every standard of justice and equity the same freedom must be accorded the workers.

"Merit Clause" Denounced

"Moreover, organization must set its face against the so-called 'merit clause' and against every other subterfuge invented to break down real collective bargaining.

"The 'merit' clause proposed by some employers' associations under the NRA leaves the decision on merit solely with the employer.

"Because it can be used as a hideout to break up union organization, it must be known for the fraud that it is and fought to the last ditch.

"Organized workers are not opposed to payment for performance. They do not seek to put a premium on inefficiency. They do want and they must have guarantee that 'merit' will not be used to destroy their only protection. That guarantee is organization.

Strong Unions Respected

"The argument is sometimes made that only the strong unions should be allowed to function.

"It is said that the strong unions enjoy the praise and confidence of employers because they are so cooperative. This is only part of the truth and a very small part of it. The strong unions are respected because they are strong.

"This is only a manifestation of a universal human instinct. Are not all of us disposed to respect the rights of those who are intelligently determined to defend them?

"In any event, the lesson for workers is clear. They should take employers at their word and organize into strong and effective unions.

All Workers Should Be in Unions

"Today every worker should be a member of his organization, the union in his craft or calling and do his part to make his union strong and effective.

"When organization embraces all American industry, the mass production wage-earners, women wage-earners, negro wage-earners, we shall have banished from our national vocabulary certain expressions that we should never have used.

"Then employers will stop talking about 'my loyal workers.' A worker is not a feudal serf, he is a free man. He does not belong to the employer.

"Then employers will stop using the expression 'pools of unemployment.' A man is not a part of a pool. Every unemployed man is a person.

"Then employers will stop using the expression 'I work my labor 40 or 50 hours a week.' A laborer is not a horse or a machine to be worked.

"Then employers will stop using the expression 'I run my business.' A worker is not a machine to be run.

"Under a socially sound system he will be a co-worker and a partner with the employer."

Government's Work Saving Workers' Homes From Mortgage Owners Greed

(Continued from Page 1)

retiring from this field, but they will be thus enabled to afford the aid and secure the same investment by dealing with the Home Loan Banks."

Home Owners' Loan Corporation

In describing the functions of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, set up by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to administer the loan program, Mr. Stevenson said:

"It has 200 million dollars cash subscribed by the Government, and two billion dollars in bonds of the corporation, bearing 4 per cent interest, payable semi-annually, and the interest is guaranteed by the Government for 18 years.

"The distressed home owner applies to one of the agencies established in his State, proves that he is about to be sold out, and that his property is not worth over $20,000, and that it is worth 25 per cent more than the debt on it.

"The agent asks if the man holding the mortgage will take our corporation bonds for it. The mortgagee agrees to do so. The property is appraised and the value is there.

How the System Works

"The title is searched and found correct, then, say the mortgage is $4,000—the corporation goes with the owner and delivers $4,000 of bonds to the holder of the mortgage and he assigns his mortgage to the corporation.

"Then the corporation uses cash to pay taxes and assessments due on the home and when all is cleared up they add the expense and taxes paid out to the debt and take a new mortgage divided up into payments running 15 years, and at 5 per cent interest, so that the home owner is put in a position where, by paying a small payment each month, he will have his home clear at the end of 15 years.

Bonds Adequately Secured

"What then is behind the bonds? If they are all loaned we will get $2,000,000,000 of real estate mortgages for them, and we have $200,000,000 of cash making back of the bonds, on the start, $2,200,000,000, and then each borrower pays monthly.

"Each time the borrowers pay, they pay 1/180 or each year they pay 1/15 and that is cash to apply on bonds, cutting them down 133 1/3 millions a year while the security (the homes covered by the mortgages) remains the same till the debts are paid.

"So in the judgment of the best financiers, the bonds are good, non-taxable, backed by ample security and guaranteed as to interest by this Government. The United States Treasury accepts them as security for Federal deposits at par, in that respect placing them on equality with United States bonds.

Workers Are Main Applicants for Loans

"In closing, let me say something that I believe should appeal particularly to the great laboring constituency you gentlemen of this convention represent.

"The various State agencies of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation are receiving and passing upon thousands of loan applications under the new emergency law. Many are eligible for relief under the terms of the act; many others do not come within its limitations.

"It is worthy of special note here that the larger proportions of these applications are filed by families coming within the so-called laboring classes.

"The applicants are men and women of modest means. They are trying to save their cottages and homes of the smaller type, properties they purchased when times were better and the mortgage installments seemed easy to meet.

"I feel, therefore, that everyone affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an organization which responded so nobly during the period of the World War upheaval and patriotic fervor, has an especial interest in this home-relief legislation and the steps we are taking to make it effective.

"It is a part of the general recovery program of this Administration and the New Deal. I urge your cooperation and am confident that it will be extended to the fullest degree."

UNION ORGANIZATION FOR TEACHERS BACKED

Opposition of Vested Interests and Benefits of Affiliation with American Federation of Labor Are Cited in Resolution Adopted.

Washington.—The right of teachers, from kindergarten to university, to establish unions and affiliate with organized labor is maintained in a resolution, dealing generally with public education, presented by Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers, and adopted by the American Federation of Labor convention. Something of the history of teachers organization and the intense opposition of vested interests thereto is given in a brief preamble, in part as follows:

"The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916, and immediately affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Within the period of seventeen years, many attacks have been made on the organization in various parts of the country.

"School officials, both local and state, have attempted to prevent the formation of local unions, and have tried to destroy locals already formed. In some cases the courts have assisted the school authorities in this destructive work.

"With the support of organized labor, many of these attempts at hindering the work of teachers' unions in improving the conditions existing in the schools have been defeated. But the spirit of opposition to teachers' unions is still strong in certain parts of the country.

"Under the National Recovery Act public recognition of the professional and economic right to continue their existence and to perform their services in behalf of the public schools of the nation and the teachers who work in them should be established.

"The organization of public school teachers is fundamental to the future of trade unionism, and trade unionists, in their organizations and individually, should make the greatest endeavor to bring teachers into the movement in order to develop a sympathetic attitude and an intelligent understanding in the minds of the children and the general public of the constructive philosophy of the labor movement as a struggle for human betterment.

"The A. F. of L. now as always is opposed to the use of the schools for propaganda of any and all kinds. It asks only protection from misrepresentation and a sound exposition of its constructive principles and work.

RATIFY CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT, AFL URGES

Long Fight for Freedom of U. S. Children Ordered Continued Until 36 Necessary States Have Voted It in the Constitution.

Washinton.—The American Federation of Labor Convention, forcing the fight against child labor in industry which it has been making for more than a generation, adopted a resolution presented by Delegates Selma M. Borchard and Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers, directing the Executive Council to continue its effective program to secure the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment until the required 36 states have approved its inclusion in the Federal Constitution.

Supporting the resolution, Delegate Trotter, of the International Typographical Union, pointed out that there is a difference between abolition of child labor by industrial codes adopted under measures which might prove temporary and the abolition for all time of child labor by making such abolition a part of the Constitution. "There is danger," he declared, "of allowing the present notable achievements to appear to render unnecessary immediate further efforts to add to the present total of 15 states."

Mr. Trotter lauded the accomplishments of the NRA in balking child labor exploitation, citing the addresses of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins and President Green before the convention for details, and scathingly rebuked a national publishing trade bulletin for its recent call upon newspaper publishers to unite in opposition to the Amendment.

Green Praises State Federations

President Green, in a closing argument for adoption of the resolution, declared:

"The Chair would like to supplement the splendid statement made by Delegate Trotter with an expression of appreciation to the officers and members of state federations of labor, all of whom have fought valiantly for the adoption of the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"The American Federation of Labor is under very great obligation to these splendid men and women who represent these state federations of labor and who appear at the meetings of the different state legislatures urging and appealing to the legislators to adopt the child labor amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

"During the last year ten states have adopted this amendment, and in every one of these states where the child labor amendment was adopted the officers of the state federations of labor centered the fight in the different legislatures for the adoption of this amendment.

Struggle in Oklahoma

"I recall one instance where, I think it was in Oklahoma, the officers of that state federation of labor wired me asking me to appeal to the Governor of that commonwealth give his moral and financial support to the proposal that the child labor amendment to the Constitution be adopted by that sovereign state.

"I responded promptly. The officers and members of the state federation of labor kept constantly at it until finally the state legislature of Oklahoma adopted the child labor amendment to the Constitution.

A. F. of L.'s Ratification Work

"Even at this moment we are making a drive in the great state of Texas.

"I can truthfully say that the American Federation of Labor and the different state federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor have been the only organizations that, during these days of disappointment and discouragement, kept up the drive constantly until we have reached this splendid result.

"We want to make the children of the Nation free."

AFL OFFERS 12-POINT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Washington.—The American Federation of Labor, maintaining its long established precedent of support for public education, adopted, at its annual convention here, a resolution presented by Selma M. Borchardt and Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers' delegates, embodying a 12-point program citing the elements necessary to the development of an effective and comprehensive National educational system, as follows:

(1) Truly professional standards in and for the classroom.

(2) Small classes taught by trained teachers.

(3) An enriched curriculum.

(4) Opportunities for growth and cultural advantages for adult workers.

(5) An equitable wage for all teachers. All employees of the school system shall be assured an equitable wage, security of position, and decent working conditions.

(6) Security of tenure for all educational workers.

(7) Decent working conditions for teachers.

(8) Right to establish teachers' unions, affiliated with organized labor.

(9) Opportunity for culture and professional study for teachers.

(10) Maintenance of educational standards.

(11) Provision for old age pensions for teachers.

(12) Opportunity for teachers to participate in formulating educational policy.

The convention renewed the pledge of the Federation to use its utmost endeavor for the protection of education from kindergarten through university, and called upon all affiliated state and local central bodies to fight to the utmost to maintain intact our free public school system in this country.

SENATOR WAGNER FAVORS INSURANCE FOR JOBLESS

Washington.—"So long as unemployment remains a reality of life, I shall favor compulsory unemployment insurance in every state, assisted by such Federal aid as may be necessary," said United States Senator Wagner of New York in an address before the American Federation of Labor convention here.

"Wage reserves charged largely to employers will provide a stringent incentive to the stabilization of industry. They will remove from the earnest worker the sense of insecurity which limits his freedom to seek advancement.

"They will curb those employers who seize large profits in good times and attempt to shift all the burdens of depressions to the laborers. Most important, such reserves emphasize the human element in industry. They focus attention upon the prime responsibility of business toward those who labor."

Rationalization of Industry Is Scourge of British Workers

English Fraternal Delegate Tells A. F. of L. Convention That Labor-Displacing Machinery and Methods Increase Unemployment and Destroy Purchasing Power—Praises Roosevelt's Recovery Program.

Washington.—Uncontrolled rationalization of industry, which means the introduction of labor displacing machinery and methods under the dictatorship of those who own and control mills, mines and factories, is the scourge of British workers, according to James Rowan, General Secretary of the British Electrical Trades Union and one of the fraternal delegates of the British Trades Union Congress to the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor here.

"I feel much honored in being appointed by the British Trades Union Congress to convey to this great convention the fraternal greetings of the British Trade Union movement, by tradition the greatest in the world, and although like other countries severely crippled by the adversity of recent years, not yet so lame that it cannot make its power felt and with sufficient reserve of power as will insure its further progress as and when trade revives," Mr. Rowan said, in addressing he convention.

"True, Britain has, like your own country, been through a much too lengthy testing time and the trade unions have had to shoulder financial burdens that should never have been placed upon them.

"Such burdens should be the responsibility of the state.

Government Opposes Labor

"So far as Britain is concerned the government, by its misguided policy of false economy, has been the dominating influence in accentuating the 'slump'.

"The miscalled national government, led by a deserter from the British Labor Party in the person of J. Ramsay MacDonald, has done all they possibly could to worsen matters by preaching no more spending, longer hours of labor, and a lower standard of living—about the maddest policy any one outside a lunatic asylum ever tried to impose upon a sane people.

"Unfortunately it was successful in bringing about the biggest slump Britain has experienced since the hungry forties of the last century.

Uncontrolled Rationalization

"About our movement at home I am not going to speak at any length but I feel I must briefly refer to the increasing menace to the working class of uncontrolled rationalization, or as you more aptly put it—technocracy.

"In my own section of industry—electrical engineering—we have as remarkable examples as yourself of changing conditions which have bitten us as much as they have bitten you.

"For instance, while bald statistics may show for Britain the production of electrical machinery to be not more last year than in previous years no allowance is made for the fact that during the last decade the cost of production and the weight per electrical unit of the product has considerably decreased.

"Therefore we have the spectacle of more productive machinery being actually manufactured and put on the market while the statisticians say there is less. Statisticians, of course, say that statistics never lie.

Pattern Makers Discarded

"I will here quote only one example of the displacement of labor caused by new methods.

"In the manufacturing of electrical machinery stator carcass were made of cast steel, necessitating the employment of engineers, pattern makers, and moulders. A decision was arrived at to fabricate these stators by welding steel plates together to form the carcass.

"The result was no pattern makers or moulders were required, and a class of labor introduced to do the welding at semi-skilled rates of wages.

"This halved the cost and halved the weight and halved the labor of the output, giving another opportunity to the statistician of showing he knows nothing of the practical application of his theories.

Machines Don't Eat

"What has happened with electrical engineering has happened in nearly every other industry. The irony of it all is that when this machinery is finished it is used for the purpose of putting further people out of employment and so the vicious circle is ever growing larger.

"Another factor that widens the difference between producer and consumer is that every machine made increases production and reduces consumption: machines don't eat.

Reduction of Hours Necessary

"This all tends to emphasize the necessity of the program put forth in your President, Mr. Green's splendid address on Monday, that the only immediate solution in the present state of society is a substantial reduction in hours and a larger increase in the spending capacity of the workers in order to do something to more nearly balance the present uneconomic position.

"I might add we in Britain are struggling with an economic crisis that has lasted longer than yours, with an unemployment problem which has been with us now for a dozen years, and with a reactionary Government that is not even capable of learning the lessons your Government has been teaching.

Supports Roosevelt's Program

"Let me say to you that British trade unionists have been profoundly impressed by the most characteristic features of your Government's recovery program.

"We regard those features as an attempt to put into practice the principles of trade union policy. I am charged to convey to you our warm appreciation of the fight your federation has made for full recognition of trade unionism in the working out of the recovery program.

"We hope and believe that the ultimate result will be such an improvement in trade, revival of industry and permanent elevation of the people's standard of life as will vindicate your federation in its insistence upon the policy of reducing hours of employment and raising wages as the first steps toward recovery.

"I believe that you have initiated here in the United States a departure in the economic life of nations and that other countries will be compelled to follow your lead, in matters of fundamental policy.

"And out of our common tribulations and our common interest in the maintenance of the principles of freedom and democracy, I hope that a closer organic relationship will grow between you and ourselves."

Seventy-Year Limit Bars Most Canadian Aged from Pensions

Fred S. White, Fraternal Delegate to A. F. of L. Convention, Declares Age Limit Should Be Reduced Ten Years to Give Old People a Longer Period of Security from Want—Supports Unemployment Insurance.

Washington.—Trenchant criticism of the Canadian old-age pension system for its age limit was expressed by Fred. J. White, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, in an address here before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

He also drew attention to the idleness enforced on the youth of Canada by the business depression and held that unemployment insurance is necessary to protect the jobless from suffering.

"There is an ever increasing appreciation of the assistance which organized labor is giving to bettering our national life," Mr. White said.

"There is the acceptance by those, who a few short years ago refused to come along with us on the question of shorter hours and the maintenance of purchasing power in order to dispose of the results of mass production. But the end is not yet, and our efforts must be continued until the final goal is reached.

"Those who opposed us in the past have had full sway to carry out their policies and we know the results just as we predicted them in the years that are gone.

"The advocates of long hours and short wages plied their philosophies to the fullest extent possible, hampered, it is true, in some industries and in such localities as built up a trade union movement.

"But the trade union movement was itself hampered by those who refused, no matter what the reason, to come into the trade union movement.

Old-Age Pensions

"Our movement is continuing to press for improvement in the social legislation of our country. As perhaps you are aware, there has been an acceptance of the application of our old age pension act in one of the Maratime Provinces.

"By this action we now have seven of our nine provinces paying to the aged, needy persons a small pension per month to make them the more welcome in the homes of friends and of relatives than otherwise would be the case.

"One has but to meet from time to time with those who are beneficiaries under the Act to appreciate what it means to them to have this financial assistance, meager though it is.

Reduce Age Limit

"The next general move must be to reduce the age at which it is presently being paid, namely, 70 years. To follow the record of those to whom it has been awarded and note the very short space of time that a great number of the pensioners receive this assistance is lamentable.

"In practically every case they have struggled on with the expectation that for a few years in the sunset of their lives they would be released from the haunting fear of privation or the necessity of trusting to friends and relatives to look after them. They reach the age of 70 and there is a surcease from this fear.

Few Payments Made

"But too often we find that there are few payments made, perhaps a year, and then the need for payment is no more.

"What a difference it would have been to these pioneer men and women—in a great number of instances they did the rough hard work so that we might live and move under conditions much more pleasantly than was their lot—if they had been in receipt of their assurance for an earlier five or ten year period.

"It is essential that those who have given years of service should be pensioned and rest in a security and peace of mind impossible under present day conditions.

Improvidence Not Cause of Poverty

"Insurance statistics give us the data that 96 out of every 100 of our population over the age of 70 require assistance.

"It cannot be said that out of such a large percentage that improvidence is the main reason for this condition. You and I know better. It is inherent in the system that presently prevails, and it is interesting to note in the figures that are given out by the various provinces that while deductions are made for incomes which the applicant has up to a certain amount, the average reduction is only $1.00 per month, which again proves that these aged persons rely wholly upon the pension which the state pays to them.

Caring for Unemployed

"Our governments have been and are taking care of our unemployed in a limited fashion.

"But the experience of the past few years proves without a shadow of doubt as to the need of preparing to meet this recurring problem, recurring as it will under a system of private profit, in a more systematic manner.

"The differences in relief payments now being paid in the various cities and districts throughout our Dominion leave no doubt as to the desire for some central regulatory organization.

"I personally come from a municipality that is paying one of the highest relief rates across Canada, and that rate is too low for proper family requirements. But the banks are paying the piper in the way of making loans to us, and so they believe that they have a right to call the tune.

Unemployment Insurance

"As I have said, there is a wide difference in the amounts that are paid in various sections of our country.

"There are those who fear that a centralized authority means a reduction to the minimum rather than a raise to the higher levels or even to the average. That is temporary risk that must be taken.

"But greater success can be achieved by pressure at one common center rather than the diversification of the same effort at a great number of points.

"The central point upon which we must focus our fight is the willing acknowledgment of the state's responsibility to adequately maintain our unemployed population, to place them on a basis wherein they will be assisted without any local delay, in the making of payments to them. In other words, Federal unemployment insurance."

Text of General Johnson's Address Before A. F. of L. Convention

Washington.—In an address before the American Federation of Labor Convention, General Hugh S. Johnson, Administrator of the National Industrial Recovery Act, described the economic conditions which made the Act imperatively necessary, explained the way it affects workers, employers, and the public, defined the rights of working men and women under Section 7, and outlined what in his judgment the American Federation of Labor should do to make the Recovery Program a success.

The text of General Johnson's address follows:

The basic principles of NRA are sound and simple.

On the one hand they permit and encourage each great industry to organize and act as one under direct governmental supervision. This right had been denied by statute before the passage of this law.

On the other hand they permit and encourage the workers in each industry to organize and act as one. This right has been at least hampered and impaired by court decisions based on the common law before the passage of NRA.

In other words this act asks for cooperation between industry, labor and Government as one great team, to preserve the economic health of the nation and it permits the organization of both industry and labor without which such cooperation would be wholly impossible.

Economic Policy Changed

This is a profound change in economic policy of a great nation. It is something new under the sun. It is the President's own concept. No exponent of economic theory suggested this plan to him.

It has been criticized and nearly all the criticism I have heard springs from misconception. It deserves a clear understanding by every thoughtful man because it is the most intelligent and practical answer to a vital national problem ever conceived and put into execution.

Every citizen has a distinct part to play in that execution but no man can play any position in a vast teamwork unless he knows both his own part and the purpose of the whole plan.

Organization Essential for Cooperation

You cannot have cooperation without that knowledge and you cannot have it without organization.

Seven million industrial operations cannot act on a general plan without some system of organization, neither can 40,000,000 individual workers.

This plan is to get complete cooperation by organization—the organization of each great industry and parallel with it the organization of workers in each great industry.

That is the first and fundamental idea of NIRA—organization to the ultimate.

Government Control

But there are danger signals here. The power of organization is immense. A fully organized and unchecked industry could exploit and dominate a whole nation. A fully organized and unchecked labor could do exactly the same.

There must be responsibility in each such organization. There must be a check on these great powers. Our government is government of the whole people. Its principal excuse for existence is protection of the whole people.

These vast organizations of industry and of labor must each be responsible to government and each must admit governmental participation and control.

No industrial combination must be permitted to practice monopolistic oppression and exploitation.

No labor combination must be permitted to paralyze a whole industry by the unchecked use of power.

These three principles, then—organization, cooperation, governmental participation—are of the very essence of NIRA.

All Codes Scrutinized

The blueprint plan is thus simple enough to state.

Organized industry and organized labor both responsible and both headed into governmental participation and absolute veto power—thus to permit the widest possible latitude of self-government, self-discipline and complete cooperation, but to check instantly any abuse of power at its very inception.

That is the ground plan of NRA and the broad foundation of all that we have tried to do under the President's direct and personal guidance, and I want to repeat and emphasize that not one single code has been approved without his personal and searching scrutiny and that at every critical point he has direct and intimate leadership.

Birth of Individualism

Now why is all this either necessary or desirable? We got along for a century and a half without it. Why do we need it now?

The answer here seems to me equally obvious.

Up to the end of the nineties this was still a pioneer country. An essential of pioneering is individual adventure.

Every horizon is a new challenge to any red-blooded man to venture forth trusting wholly to the brain and sinew with which nature equipped him for his struggle for existence and advancement.

In every failure there was always the beckoning of a new hope—the urge to a new try.

Despair need never come so long as health and sanity remained and there was an open field for individual enterprise.

In such surroundings there is no need for complete organization and where there is no need there is no justification, because the ideal of human life is the widest individual latitude and responsibility with the minimum of governmental intrusion.

Individual Liberty Modified

As Jefferson said, "That government is best which governs least."

We are willing to surrender only so much of individual liberty as is necessary to protect the rights of others.

But we must surrender that if we are to live in the increasing complexity of modern life.

It is to that very complexity that we must give our thoughts tonight. We are no longer a frontier community. We are in the grip of an intense industrialization. The whole scene and surroundings have changed.

We must keep in mind the precept of Jefferson and keep out government intrusion, but self-government today is self-government by groups in industry to the end of economic placidity—groups in labor to the end of individual protection.

Small Business Wiped Out

In this new era of mass production and chain distribution there is little room in commerce or industry for the adventurer on a shoestring.

All the old common callings have merged into mass enterprise.

The anvil and the bellows of the village blacksmith have given place to the enormous productivity of batteries of drop forges and rows of open hearths.

The cobbler's last is out of business before serried ranks of automatics and even the independent corner grocery or drug store finds life impossible in the face of its highly organized rivals of the chain type.

Old Order Is Gone

Nobody decreed or legislated absolute individualism into this dilemma.

The astonishing progress of science and finance simply left it behind and there is no use in fighting against the progress of the suns. "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks."

The old order is gone forever and by no man's designing. All this has brought benefits, but it has also brought great griefs.

The roaring, clacking, soulless complex of our industry and commerce have become a great and highly active machine of which no individual is more than an integrated part. Each performs a specialized function.

In most cases living income comes as a matter of determination by a power with whom there is no bargaining in any true sense. The individual takes what he gets and is thankful and his separation from the particular ratchet in which he revolves may be a tragedy.

At his doorway there is no longer an open road to high adventure in a new and brighter country, and even if there were such a road his specialization has utterly unfitted him to take it.

Industry Operates on Jungle Law

On the side of industry the size and complexity of the modern system has become ruthless beyond belief.

As the condition of each great business group has been disclosed here in these public hearings, which have already searched the bulk of industry and commerce, it has become daily more certain that the jungle law of survival by economic mayhem and murder must be amended and no one who have given attention to these astonishing disclosures can doubt this.

Fair Practice to Protect Workers

The organization of industry—the creation of a tribunal of fair practice within each industry—the enforcement of rules against economic anarchy—all these things are vitally and immediately necessary to industry but they are more necessary for workers for—mark me and mark me well—there is not a destructive war of price cutting below cost—no retrograde movement in industrial production—no vicious downward spiral that does not result in the degradation of workers.

Labor and Business Are Partners

There is only one place from which the sacrifice of a prolonged price war or price tendency can come, and that is from the hours and wages of labor. That is a fundamental. It is something that you must learn and cherish.

The business of industry is your business. The success or failure of industry is your success or failure. Whether or not you are so called, you are a partner with your employer. There is never a proper question of what is the most you can get out of him. The real question is what is fairly necessary to the success of your joint adventure. That also is of the very essence of NIRA.

Individual Helpless in Self-Defense

Great pools of capital are now necessary to any important commercial or industrial enterprise. The right of economic self-defense is narrowed to a ribbon. In such an environment both industry and labor must organize or perish.

That is one of the chief reasons for NIRA. That is why it provides for the organization of both and that is why its primary purposes must be carried to completion.

Economic Machine Has No Governor

The great economic machine the growth of which requires this law was no planned and designed mechanism.

Some of its parts are highly efficient But there are no timing gears to regulate their movement to that of other parts.

The vast engine has no governor. At times it races furiously and at other times it comes to a stop on a dead center and all the power of government and finance is not enough to turn the engine over.

Human Tragedy Results

It is then that human tragedy stalks through the land. For the cogs and ratchets of the huge machine are not dead metal.

They are human beings with all the high hopes and haughty aspirations of their pioneer forebears.

Junked in the scrap pile of unemployment they cannot lie still awaiting a new melt. Yet there is little hope for them in seasons such as these.

Forty years ago the human failure in one undertaking could go West and take up another. Now he cannot. There is nothing for him and his family but bare pavements and bread lines.

Economic and Political Systems Have Failed

Our people will stand this only for a time within reason.

Whether we speak of a system as political or economic—when it reaches a point where willing men under it cannot get a living by their own honest efforts, it has outlived its usefulness and our systems have failed in this regard.

Dictator Could Accomplish Nothing

What are we to do about it? If a dictator came tomorrow, what more could he do than has been done?

If some ruthless seeker after power aspired to grasp this sorry scheme of things, what could he do to feed the hungry mouths grown bitter and resentful after four years of patient suffering? The answer is that he could do nothing.

We will find our way out of this mess, not by smashing down all that has been built up, but by applying intelligence and timing and control to this complex machine of which we all are a part, and that is exactly what NRA is intended to do.

Decentralized Action Necessary

How? Again I say by organization. You cannot apply controls to millions of separate units of any great industry treating each alone. You cannot apply control to the many more millions of employes or to the few separate labor organizations set up on different plans and acting independently.

You must decentralize action and leave to each unit the right to do the utmost for itself and on its own initiative that it can do without harming others, but for the broad general purposes of the public good you must reduce the master levers of the great control room to the fewest number consistent with our fundamental purpose.

Control the Industrial Frankenstein

That fundamental purpose is to put governors on this great Frankenstein.

The purpose is to check it when it races wildly and to sustain it when it creaks and slows to a stubborn stop. The purpose is to prevent this constant junking of human gears and ratchets.

The purpose is to regulate the quantity of what goes in the hopper to the power of the country to consume what comes out at the snout.

The purpose is to balance consumption with our enormous potential productivity—not by reducing production, but by increasing the power to consume by a more even distribution of the fruits of every man's endeavor.

Complete Organization Required

It is an act of economic lunacy in a country such as this to let anything interfere with the power of our people to own and have and enjoy the maximum of their productive power.

There is here every element of the greatest prosperity and human welfare the world has ever seen and the keys to it are two—confidence and balance.

It is not a difficult problem—it is rather an easy one and again I say the secret of it lies in the basic principles of NRA—organization and control of both industry and labor—organization to the uttermost with such public controls as will create complete confidence in organization of both.

That is the key to the economic riddle and this is the critical hour. The events of the near future will demonstrate whether there is in this people the power to pull themselves out of the most desperate hole into which this country ever got.

The spotlight is on the President's recovery program. It is on industry which is being organized now with lightning speed. It is on labor which is also being organized at a headlong rate.

Responsibility of Organized Labor

You have the ball. Will you hold it firm and carry it across the last white line or will you fumble it like an untrained team and ruin the greatest chance that human workers were ever given?

I am speaking to leaders of organized labor. I have no words strong enough to implore you to acquit yourselves like men and American leaders in this great crisis.

You are like the boy at the Holland dyke with his finger in the crevice. You are in such a position in the life of your country as fate sometimes places men when the welfare of millions rests on the shoulders of a few.

Main Prop Against Collapse

If you act as Americans have usually acted in the few cases where these great responsibilities impended, you can assure the future of organized labor.

If you fail you will destroy it and with it the one greatest hope of despairing humanity in this country.

We cannot stand another vast collapse. You are the pricipal props against collapse. You cannot escape your responsibility.

Militant Action Unnecessary

In this new scheme of things labor organization has a new place that it never occupied before—new duties, new benefits, new responsibilities.

In the old days of exploitation you had to form aggressive units literally to fight for the life of labor. You had to be sometimes militant and always on the alert defensive. That is no longer necessary with NRA.

In the first of the codes—the cotton Textile Code, labor was not organized at all, yet it got in that case the greatest boost that workers in a great industry ever got and there were erased some of the worst abuses from which labor has ever suffered.

Labor needs to use no agression in this process and you will get in these codes the maximum of what the particular economic situation permits and no amount of militant pressure can change that result.

Bituminous Coal Code

As I see the new function of labor organizations, it is best exemplified in the bituminous coal code and what grew out of it. The situation demonstrates both the best and the worst in NIRA.

In that case, as the facts and principles grew clear, there was no opposition from enlightened operators to contracts with the United Mine Workers. They recognized the need for partnership to pull themselves out of a hole and to discipline their own industry.

The moment that contract was made practically the whole responsibility for the rescue of that industry and in some measure for the success of NRA, fell squarely on the shoulders of John Lewis.

Sould he perform under his far-reaching agreement? Could he control the divergent efforts of all groups of miners?

In a word—is union labor a responsible instrumentality? Make no mistake about it—the very foundations of organized labor are at test here and now.

Minorities Threaten Coal Industry

But what is happening? What are the hazards? A minority on each side—industry and labor—is threatening the whole enterprise.

A minority of miners using force and violence in defiance of the public peace is hampering the responsible leadership of the United Mine Workers and preventing its compliance with its contracts.

A minority of operators have thus far omitted to accord the rights and privileges to labor which 90 per cent of the industry have conceded.

Tribute to Leaders

The purpose of the people of the United States as expressed in N.I.R.A.—the concerted effort of both employers and employes—the peace of a great State are oll thus put in jeopardy by the wilfulness of less than 10 per cent on both sides, for here and now I want to pay tribute to the leadership of he majority on both sides.

John Lewis is living up to his contract 100 per cent. Such men (on the employers' side) as John Morrow, head of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, Ralph Taggart, James Francis, Charles O'Neil, who have labored since before this act was passed as few men have ever worked before for peace and progress in this tortured industry have done and are doing their full share.

Nowhere in the President's Recovery Program is there a clearer example of teamwork between goverment, industry and labor than this—balked and frustrated by a recalcitrant few.

Few Slackers Cause Trouble

As Donald Richberg said not long ago, it is the "10-per-centers" that give us the trouble.

In this case his words are prophetic. Just about 10 per cent of soft coal production—just about 10 per cent of coal miners—are involved in this resistance.

Does any one suppose for a moment that in a democratic country like this 10 per cent of any group can hold up the progress of the President's plan (which has become the peoples' plan) in this country? I leave the answer to that question with you.

Strikes Not Caused by NRA Program

I used the coal industry as an illustration because it is the most typical, but the same sort of thing is going on in other places.

There is some misconception about this. Two or three hundred thousand men are out on strike. But for some curious reason strikes are phenomena of recovery.

Dr. Alexander Sachs, chief of the research and planning division provided for in the National Recovery Act, who—to my mind—is one of the world's greatest economists, if economic prediction be a test of an economist's value—Alexander Sachs tells me that there are far fewer strikes in this recovery than in any other in history, here or elsewhere.

If that means anything it means that the ill-informed and inimical chatter about the recovery program being responsible for strikes is just plain moonshine.

Strikes Not Necessary

But the matter does have this serious aspect for you.

Labor does not need to strike under the Roosevelt plan. It has a disinterested forum—first, in the open hearing at which all in council your foremost leaders, together with leaders in industry, and full and adequate representation of consumers, to all of whom I want also to pay my tribute.

Men and women seem to become inspired in their participation in the President's plan. I can't mention all the members of the advisory boards, and what I say for Mr. Teagle, Dr. Wolman and Mrs. Rumsey goes for all of them—more conscientious and devoted public service was never rendered.

Function of National Labor Board

So I say that labor has its tribunal in the first instance. But that is in the formation of codes.

The complaint has been about their execution. The President has also provided for that.

Senator Bob Wagner—the Senatorial sponsor and co-author of the Recovery Act and champion of human rights for years, is head of as distinguished a board as was ever set up to pass upon these disputes and he is rapidly organizing his work to cover the entire country.

Thus from the beginning to the end of this process you are given a complete and highly effective protection of your rights.

The plain, stark truth is that you can not tolerate the strike. Public opinion is the essential power in this country. In the end it will break down and destroy every subversive influence.

If now—when the whole power of this government and its people are being given to an effort to provide and maintain to the ultimate the rights of every man who works for pay—you permit or countenance this economic sabotage, that public confidence and opinion will turn against you and, as Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor, said to you the other night, the turn will be either to the extreme right or to the extreme left, and either would result in your destruction, as you know better than I can tell you.

Impartial Interpretation

I must say some things that you may not relish. But we have a law to execute. We have to interpret it. The Recovery Administration would fail if we swerved one instant from impartial and honest interpretation of that law. In my own opinion, at a time of great crisis such as this, it is almost treasonable to depart from or exceed the mandate of the Congress of the United States.

I am a lawyer and I feel quite confident of my knowledge of this law because I helped to write it but I have been an industrialist and lest I should, by unconscious prejudice or lack of view, swerve too much to the industrialist side, I asked for Donald Richberg as General Counsel. I wanted to maintain balance. Our whole organization is planned to maintain balance. An industrialist and a labor leader sits in on everything we do.

I have been much criticised by my industrial friends for asking Mr. Richberg to serve, but not by any man in industry or labor who has been in contact with him—a fairer and more resourceful or more able lawyer I do not know.

Together we have tried to interpret this law for execution and whenever there is too much doubt there is always the Attorney General who certainly cannot be accused of bias on either side.

Labor Representation Mandatory

This law requires that labor shall be represented by men of its own choosing and that means just what it says. So far as I am concerned I believe in a vertical organization of labor in each industry on a national scale with representation of government in each organization to the full extent that we are putting government representation in each organization of industry. But my opinion does not count.

It is not our function either to organize or to disorganize either industry or labor.

It is simply not true that the Recovery Act imposes on labor any particular form of organization or any particular representation.

It is labor's right to select its own organization and its own representation and if I said otherwise I would be recreant to my duty under the Act.

Workers Free from Employer Control

On the other hand, this Act provides taht in such selection labor shall be absolutely free from employers' domination in that choice. Any man can choose to bargain either individually or collectively and the idea that a man can be compelled or even influenced to join a company union or any other union is absolutely negatived by the plain words of this Statute.

Wall Street Enemies of NRA

There are enemies of the NRA. Yesterday I heard that a prominent Wall Street journal was going to conduct a survey of small employers for the purpose of demonstrating tah tthe President's Reemployment Agreement was a failure.

I know something about Wall Street. I used to work there. It has been much maligned and also properly criticised. But the idea of a Wall Street journal going out to demonstrate through the little fellow the fallacy of a great social regeneration is one of the grimmest, ghastliest pieces of humor of all the queer flotsam of our daily work.

Attempts to Antagonize Farmers

There is a distinct movement to raise farmer antagonism to NRA on the ground that anything done for workers before farm prices are raised to their pre-war relation to other prices is unfavorable to agriculture.

The essential purpose of the President's program is to erase disparities. It is a cohesive program. It proposes something for every oppressed area. We all recognize that the greatest disparity is the lowness of farm prices.

But the Agricultural Adjustment Act was given to farmers just as NRA was given to workers. It goes to the ultimate limit to cure the ills of agriculture. There are much more drastic powers in that Act and they are being ably and vigorously administered. But there can be nothing in our new social compact that says that one class must wait for any benefit at all for the maximum of benefit to another class. The aim is to raise the condition of all together.

In Dr. Sach's opinion, it is the economic anarchy in the field of distribution which depresses farm prices and it is in that direction that all our efforts are concentrated.

Justifiable Price Increases

There has been a mark-up of prices but never forget that they were markups from the destructive levels of depression lows. The finest demonstration of the Recovery Act is about to be given.

The government now has the right to ask about these things and when there is complaint about undue increases to require justification of them. That it is about to do in every case of outstanding disparity.

As I appeal to you to give the President's plan your unstinted support in the matter of disputes, I appeal also to our farmer friends to do the same thing in this matter of national unity against depression. Let us play the game as a team and not as discordant units.

Bugaboo of Rising Wages

There is complaint also—largely from Wall Street—that rising wages have increased costs and so reduced consumption.

Any man who will make an examination of these codes must know that in every case, wages and hours have been related to the ability of each industry to sustain them and not one code has been approved without the overwhelming agreement of the industry submitting it. Not one single code has been imposed. Not one drastic provision of this law has been invoked.

These financial gentry who assume to know more about how to operate a business than the men who are running it should take some counsel of these circumstances, but finally and above all they should answer the fundamental question of how you are going to reactivate business without giving the mass purchasing power so necessary to mass production. You cannot squeeze blood out of a turnip.

Chiselers Will Be Punished

There is criticism also that there is chiseling behind the Blue Eagle and that our failure to hang, draw and quarter these opportunists is reducing confidence in the whole plan.

I think that this criticism is justified. But the point has never for one moment been overlooked. The question of enforcing compliance is complex.

Taking away the Blue Eagle has been proved to be a terrific economic punishment. We must have a method of justice and certainty. Organization for this involves other departments of government. Men have been working night and day to prepare a national network to handle these problems and the result will shortly be forthcoming.

The temporary advantage that real chiselers may obtain will prove a costly experiment. The whole power of government is behind the Blue Eagle. It is the symbol of the cooperation of a whole people and I can assure all these honest employers who have displayed it that they will be protected to the limit.

Support the Blue Eagle

I must ask again that the public support the Blue Eagle. Every man who has a job—every man who has been put back to work is in some way supporting some else.

As the able and efficient Harry Hopkins who is administering the Relief Organization has repeatedly said "There is no relief for the average American as effective as a job." Every employer who has the Blue Eagle in his window has—at great sacrifice—created jobs.

I want to say again, with all the emphasis at my command, that whenever a woman buys or permits buying any article at any store which has no Blue Eagle, she is setting herself against the job of her breadwinner—against recovery.

To say this has been called incitation to a boycott. The vice in this is that 90 per cent of employers do have the Blue Eagle now. It is exactly the same situation as I have described in the Bituminous Coal Industry—the revolt of the 10 per cent. The question here is simply whether 90 per cent of the people of this country are going to be stopped by Donald Richberg's "ten percenters."

Importance of Buying Now

Buy and buy now because prices are bound to rise. Buy under the Blue Eagle because that is and will remain the symbol of cooperation of a whole people—not to be balked and frustrated by the rugged individualism of a recalcitrant few.

In closing I want to say a word of thanks to the great broadcasting chains. I am informed that the cancellation of commercial programs necessary to clear this half hour has cost them many thousands of dollars.

When we think of the willing eagerness of such sacrificial cooperation as this in an effort to make effective a great national purpose and then turn to contemplate the obstructions of "ten percenters"—the rules of radio do not permit adequate characterization.

STEVENSON PRAISES A. F. OF L. POLICY

Chairman of Federal Home Loan Board, Former Congressman, Declares Organized Labor's Standards Are Just — Describes Gompers As One of Greatest Americans.

Washington.—A glowing tribute was paid to the policies and standards of the American Federation of Labor by William F. Stevenson, former Congressman, now chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, in an address before the 1933 convention of the A. F. of L. here.

Gompers' Patriotism

"It is both an honor and a privilege to be permitted to address this very representative assembly of American industrial life," Mr. Stevenson said.

"I have been familiar with the operations of the American Federation of Labor since I entered Congress at the beginning of the World War.

"It was then headed by Mr. Samuel Gompers whom I came to consider one of the greatest living Americans of that period. His patriotism, his energy and his wise counsel were a tower of strength to the Administration then facing that great contest, and I am glad to see that recognition is to be given to his memory by the erection of a monument in this city, where as head of your organization he labored.

Supported A. F. of L. Legislation

"My experience throughout 16 years of service in the House of Representatives gave me an extensive insight into the principles and aims of this great organization. Coming from a district in which there was no connection of this organization, when I was first elected to Congress, naturally I had no preconceived opinions as to its purpose, policies or strength.

"As time went along through the years, I found myself voting for the aims which it advocated in legislation. In all that time I never dissented from the program which was offered by the American Federation of Labor on more than one issue and that was one upon which there was not a great effort made at that time.

Always Fair and Right

"My support and advocacy of its views in great contests like the contest over the Esch-Cummins bill, which, in many respects, was unfair to labor, and the contest over the Howell-Barkley bill which was aimed to remedy, to a certain extent, that unfairness, was always the result, not of lobbying, because no representative of the Federation of Labor ever asked me to support or oppose any measure, in my recollection, but it was because the things this organization stood for were, in my judgment, fair and right.

"So much for my past relation to your great organization.

"My observation is that your policy has been the maintenance of standards that are fair and right, as applied to all persons and classes; because, if the laboring population receives a just deal the entire country is benefited thereby."

Financiers Victimize the Workers By Strangle Hold On Government

J. A. Hall, British Fraternal Delegate to A. F. of L. Convention, Claims Bankers Compelled British Government to Slash Unemployment Insurance Benefits by Refusing Credit.

Washington. — Strong condemnation of financiers for compelling governments to victimize working men and women and their dependents in enforcing so-called economy policies characterized the address of James A. Hall, fraternal delegate from Trades Union Congress of Great Britain, before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor here.

"The British labor government failed in 1931," said Mr. Hall, who is a member of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and Financial Secretary of the Yorkshire Mine Workers' Association. "It failed not because of its lack of intellectual policies, it did not lose control of government reign in 1931 because of its inferiority of intellect—nothing of the kind.

Bankers Force Jobless Insurance Cut

"The British government failed in 1931 in a manner similar to what other governments have failed. It failed like what may be the possibility of the fall of America. We must size up the weaknesses of the banking system of the world. They who have not considered the powers of this fraternity are lacking in the true knowledge of uprising and progress.

"In spite of all of the denials that there was a bankers' ramp, and all the tributes and compliments paid to the bankers by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Philip Snowden, there is not the slightest doubht that no credits would be given unless the government agreed to make a 10 per cent cut in the benefits of the unemployed.

"What does that mean? It means this, that in England now where an old man may be going to work at the age of 60, he may have two sons living with him—two sons 30 years old, we will say—and if that old man's income is sufficient to meet their needs, according to the scale laid down by the government, that old man has to keep those two sons.

"If one son is married and the wife and children are living with him, then the old man has still to continue to keep those two or three families existant in that house. The same is true of the man who has his father and mother and who may be married and have three children.

"If the income is sufficient to meet, according to the scale, the keeping of the father and the mother, that man has to keep his father and mother and the whole of his family.

Stronger Than Government

"That was the 10 per cent cut in Great Britain. That was done, not because MacDonald or Snowden wanted it to be done, it was done because there is a power stronger than government, stronger than constitutions, that power that dethroned the labor government in 1931 in Britain, that power that may yet dethrone the power of Roosevelt under the present recuperative act in America.

"Now let us look at the importance of this. One can stand at a point in the city of London and be within a stone's throw of a handful of banks and financial agencies which by an agreement come to quite legally, though perhaps in defiance of the intention of law or government decree, would influence materially in a very short time the business operation of the country.

Menace of American Finance

"Nor is the growing importance of American finance in international trade an assuring event. One of the things that can be assumed as a certain consequence of the War is that finance is to hold a more important grip on international industry than hitherto, and that in their own interests communities must protect themselves so far as possible against an imperious international financial trust.

"In any event, it is quite clear that this country will have to watch not only Lombard Street, but you will have to watch Lombard Street and Wall Street in New York in America.

Slavery of Labor

"If international finance is to fight within itself, the battle is to strew the world with industrial debris.

"If it is to combine, the slavery of labor, both in its aspects of toil and of management, is inevitable, and the politics of the world will become the will of finance. For finance can command the sluices of every stream that runs to turn the wheels of industry, and can put fetters upon the feet of every government that is in existence.

"Those who control finance can paralyze the nation, can make it drunk, can keep it normal. And in all their transactions their own interests are put first.

"Of course these interests are involved in the general interest. They cannot flourish in a dead economic state. But they fix exchanges, bank rates and capital values.

Bank Rates and Unemployment

"What is happening now in England? Why, if you remember in 1929—and we are sorry to say we were following suit to what you were doing in this country, we were insensible to the policy you were adopting—but in 1929 up goes the bank rate in America from three to four per cent, from four to five per cent and from five to six per cent.

"Now will you not bear with me here now when I say that before the change from the credit which had been normal for many years in America, before it increased its present rates, your unemployment figures were very, very small indeed, in fact infinitesimal, but immediately the bank rates began to increase, up goes unemployment, and ultimately we find out that at the end of three years of this new policy of the banking system of America, your increased unemployment went up to 10,000,000.

"In England we thought you were wise financiers, and in England the Bank of England followed Wall Street, and ultimately found out that after following Wall Street from three to four per cent and from four to five per cent, from five to six and from six to seven, unemployment went up in our country from 625,000 to 2,800,000.

Bankers Threaten Roosevelt's Program

"I want to appeal to you men and women here representing the greatest labor federation in America. Be alive.

"The next three to six months will try your prowess and your intelligence, and the greatest obstacle Roosevelt has to meet is the obstacle from the bankers and financiers in America who are using every effort possible to destroy the possibilities of his success. But I think your Federation here, from what I can see of you, have made up your minds definitely.

"There can be no return to the squalid conditions of unemployment and bad labor conditions in America.

"You have made up your minds, and rightly so, that the ship of state in America has left the harbor of distrust and insecurity. It is now on its journey to the harbor of resuscitation and recuperation.

"There must not be any going back this time. If you do you will destroy the proletariat masses in America, you will destroy the faith of the European countries in you.

"Democracy is now on trial in America. Pray today, you men, be up in arms and understand the rudiments of finance, and when the time comes for the task to be completed you must play your part and play it manfully and well."

Workers' Education of Greatest Importance Under the New Deal

Spencer Miller Declares NRA Makes Labor Partner with Government and Management in Business and Firmly Establishes Collective Bargaining Principle—Cutthroat Competition Ends.

Washington.—The placing of all business in the public interest and public regulation category by the National Recovery Act, the tremendous possibilities for economic freedom afforded the workers by the guarantee of the right of collective bargaining without employer interference which the Act contains, and the supreme need for adequate education of working men and women along economic lines to safeguard them under the New Deal, were placed in the spotlight by Spencer Miller, secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, in his address before the 1933 convention of the American Federation of Labor here.

Important Labor Legislation

"The recovery program has appropriately centered the attention of this convention," Mr. Miller said. "It has been appraised at this convention by a distinguished group of authorities in the fields of industry, government, and labor. May I summarize what I consider to be its political, industrial, economical, and ethical implications.

"Politically, it has not only brought about a vast concentration of power in the national government, but it has enacted the greatest piece of labor legislation that has ever been enacted in this country.

"And it has virtually swept aside the theory of the sovereignty of individual states. By a single Act we have virtually raised wages, shortened hours and abolished child labor—the goal of years of social reform.

"Economically, the Recovery Act marks the passing of laissez faire in American industry; it has replaced cutthroat competition with cooperative action. We have embarked upon a program of social economic planning.

Public Regulation of Business

"There is one other economic aspect of this program which I am bound to call to your attention.

"In the famous case of Munn vs. Illinois, during the nineties of the last century, it was laid down as a principle that when business becomes affected with a public interest it is subject to public regulation.

"What has happened in effect is that we have taken the position that all business is affected with a public interest and therefore subject to public regulation.

Wages First Charge on Industry

"Industrially labor is elevated to the new status of a partner with government and management in business, and for the first time the police power of the Government is thrown around the principle of collective bargaining.

"Ethically the Recovery Act virtually makes wages a first charge upon industry which gives priority to human values.

"Furthermore, the assertion that the welfare of industry is more important than the selfish interest of an individual corporation is equally significant.

Planless Economy Ended

"Three things, then, seem to be clear. First, that industrial relations in the United States will never again be the same with the enactment of the Recovery Act as they were prior to 1933.

"Secondly, though the Recovery Act may come to an end within the two-year period, we shall have put an end to our planless economic development and begin the era of a planned economy.

"And thirdly, the opportunity which it at the door of labor is unparalleled in range and extent."

Progress of Workers' Education

"Today labor has a new resource and a new instrumentality which it can use to educate workers in the aims and practices of the trade union movement. It is the workers' education movement—the educational arm of the movement.

"For twelve years now this education movement in the United States under the direction of the Workers' Education Bureau has been developing a technique of instructing wage earners in economic and labor problems.

"It has helped to train a group of teachers among the instructors of our universities in the most effective method of teaching adults.

"It has developed text material to serve the special needs of industrial workers.

"It has defined the aim of this movement so as to relate it to the worker's place in our modern industrial society.

"It has been developing special schools, institutes, study classes, chautauquas, with the active participation of labor to assist workers in understanding their own problems.

"In a word the resources are here but we wait for a chance to be of wider service.

Labor Institutes

"The labor institutes in particular which have been developed over the country have been of unique value in bringing the trained experience of experts into a cooperative relationship with the workers in exploring practical economic problems.

"These institutes have proved invaluable to the workers in explaining the aims and principles of the Recovery Act.

"It is repeatedly asserted that the Recovery Program cannot succeed without labor. That is true. But it cannot long succeed with labor's support unless labor is kept continuously informed about the NRA.

"These institutes have been developed with State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor unions in a large number of communities.

"Here, then, is a technique which is thoroughly sound from an educational standpoint which at the same time makes it possible for large groups of workers at a minimum of inconvenience to understand these problems.

"In light of the obvious needs of these million and a half workers it would seem fair that the wholehearted support of the trade union movement should be given to the Bureau to develop this educational program."

GREEN PAYS TRIBUTE TO HIS PREDECESSOR

President of American Federation of Labor Eloquently Portrays Labors and Life of Samuel Gompers at the Unveiling of Beautiful Memorial Built by Friends.

Washington.—Below is the full text of the address delivered by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, at the ceremonies attendant on the unveiling of the memorial statue of Samuel Gompers, here:

This beautiful monument which is being dedicated here today is expressive of the reverential regard and high esteem in which Samuel Gompers was held by the membership of the American Federation of Labor. Its completion marks the culmination of years of effort on the part of working men and women to honor his great name and perpetuate his sacred memory.

We who are privileged to be here and participate in these dedicatory ceremonies will, without doubt, be moved by feelings of deep emotion and justifiable pride as we behold the bronze image of labor's departed chieftain, dignified in bearing and majestic in appearance.

Died at Work

The years have passed since Samuel Gompers died at San Antonio, Texas, and yet it seems but a short while since his voice was heard in the councils and conventions of the American Federation of Labor. His passing was as he wished. There was no interim between the termination of active work and the final close of his eventful career. Like a commander-in-chief, leading a gallant army against a worthy foe, he fell on the battlefield unyielding in his determination to conquer and to win.

Trip to Mexico

His dramatic trip to Mexico, from the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor, was made in the interests of international good-will and economic solidarity.

His friends entreated him to forego the trip. They knew his physical strength was ebbing and that his intense application to the work of the convention had exacted a heavy toll in nervous and physical energy. But, undaunted in spirit and deeply conscious of his obligation and duty to the working people of the world he journeyed forth into a foreign land. His mission was successful.

He accomplished his purpose but, in doing so, he made the supreme sacrifice.

End Comes in United States

Realizing that the end was near he begged his friends to help him reach the border of the United States so that he could breathe his last in the land of his adoption, his beloved United States. It proved to be a race with time.

He barely reached the border line which separated Mexico from the United States before the final summons came.

He died in San Antonio, Texas, on December 13, 1924, nine years ago.

Thus ended the career of a great man, one who loved and served his fellowmen.

Animated by Noble Purpose

The life record of Samuel Gompers can never be completely written. It was filled with tragedy, touched with poverty and glorified by the idealism of a noble purpose.

He was destined to be great and mighty because he possessed those qualities which make men great.

In the United States he found unfolding opportunities for the exercise of his intellectual powers, all of which were used without reservation in behalf of the workers of the nation.

Through the development of trade-unionism, which to him became a religion, he perceived a rare opportunity to advance and promote the economic, industrial and social interests of the masses of the people.

He was born in London, England, on January 27, 1850.

On June 10, 1863, with his immigrant parents, he embarked on the steamship, London, for America. He landed at Castle Garden, New York City, on July 29, 1863.

In this humble and unnoticed way he began his career in a land where democracy and freedom were the inspirational principles which influenced his every action and his entire life.

Trade Union Philosophy

The philosophy of trade-unionism, as expounded by Mr. Gompers, was in sharp contradiction to the economic philosophy which had been espoused by the Knights of Labor.

He believed that trade-unionism should be an integral part of our social, national and economic life.

He saw the futility of individualism and his vision enabled him to sense the complete failure of individual merit as a basis for future progress and advancement for working men and women.

He knew that the developing civilization would make it increasingly impossible for individual workers to stand alone and through such isolation improve or advance their economic status.

His faith in the humane and economic philosophy which he advocated inspired him to look away from the small group which he had gathered about him and visualize an army of organized workers banded together for the purpose of protecting and promoting their common interests.

He saw teeming thousands marching into mass production industries, serving in a specialized way, filling the mills, mines and factories with human elements which he knew must be safeguarded and preserved if the Nation's free institutions were to be perpetuated.

Labor Values His Judgment

The men and women of labor have remained true and steadfast in their devotion to the principles which Mr. Gompers proclaimed and have guarded well the common heritage which was bequeathed to them in his utterances, his writings and his dramatic statements. Today labor places a new value upon his wise counsel, his sound judgment and his foresight.

The principles of collective bargaining, of cooperation, increased purchasing power through high wages, the limitation of the hours of employment suitable to the manufacturing and economic needs of industry, though regarded as revolutionary when first proclaimed during the early period of Mr. Gompers' career, are now accepted as a fixed part of our governmental policies.

Like the great artist he sketched the outline of the plan which should be followed by industry, the Government and labor.

Human Relations in Industry

Where the plan he outlined has been applied, establishing human relations in industry befitting modern industry, industry, labor and the public have become the beneficiaries.

It is no exaggeration to say that these principles and the plan providing for cooperative human relations in industry, formulated and recommended by Mr. Gompers are embodied in principle in the National Recovery Act.

Mr. Gompers was by nature and temperament a fighter. This characteristic was developed because he lived in a fighting period.

Superior Leadership

He reached sublime heights in superior leadership when clashing with the forces of opposition.

He subjected the fighting spirit, however, to the transcendant needs of constructive leadership and calm deliberations.

He could fight on the industrial battlefield or he could give wise counsel in the conference room.

Such was the nature of the man. He blended these qualities of aggressiveness and conciliation into a harmonious leadership.

On this solemn and historic occasion when, in a spirit of deep devotion and with feelings of tenderness, the hosts of labor gather to dedicate this monument, our hearts and minds turn to the great cause which Samuel Gompers championed and the great American labor movement which he helped to establish.

Unionism, Fraternity, Brotherhood

The American Federation of Labor will ever stand as a tribute to his great genius and the immeasurable service rendered by those pioneer leaders who were associated with him in the establishment of trade-unionism in the United States and Canada.

The life of Samuel Gompers was inseparably associated with the establishment, growth and expansion of the American Federation of Labor.

This fact is impressively symbolized in this artistic, enduring monument which we are permitted to behold. The central figure of the monument is that of Samuel Gompers sitting in repose.

Behind it stands a group of allegorical figures typifying the principles of unionism, fraternity and brotherhood. They exemplify the principles and organization structure designed, shaped and formulated by the mighty mind of labor's dynamic leader.

The artistic mind of the sculptor who originated and conceived this monument blended into its construction the strength and characteristics of Samuel Gompers and the expression, idealism, solidarity and social implications of the trade-union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

This monument was erected by the labor movement with which Mr. Gompers was associated all his life.

It is designed to stand in perpetuity as a tribute to the greatness, genius, vision, character and memory of Samuel Gompers.

In all the years which may follow, the oncoming generations, the youth of the land will behold the figure of Samuel Gompers and through an analysis of the imposing figures whose hands are clasped and whose bearing reflects the dignity, unity and strength of labor a lesson may be learned of the philosophy, purpose and achievements of the men and women of labor.

Thus the name and fame of Samuel Gompers and of the American Federation of Labor will be preserved in future generations.

Those who heard his voice and knew him through personal association and conduct will pass away but the world will ever know him because of the record be made and because this enduring, indestructible monument has been erected and established by the hosts of labor as a tribute to his great name and in honor of his memory.

Presented to Federal Government

Mr. President, labor presents this sacred monument to the Federal Government of the United States with a feeling of deep satisfaction and assurance that it will be protected, maintained and cared for in a befitting and appropriate way.

You have honored the hosts of labor by your presence.

It is with a sense of deep gratitude for your gracious action and manifest sympathy in the working men and women of the United States that I deliver to your keeping this monument of Samuel Gompers, symbolic of his greatness and patterned and constructed by labor's hands.

With it I tender the assurance of the devotion and loyalty of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, to you, as the Chief Executive of our Nation, and to the United States, the haven of the oppressed and the guardian of our liberties.

Samuel Gompers Memorial in Washington

The Gompers Memorial depicts Gompers seated; above him the altar of Justice. Clasping hands across the altar are marble figures symbolic of Labor. Behind them stand figures of Justice and Liberty. A mother holding her child symbolizes the protection of the home, and a child with bowed head symbolizes the appeal of the child for protection from industrial exploitation.

Dedication of Gompers Memorial Vivid and Dignified Ceremonial

President and Mrs. Roosevelt Center of Throng Gathered with Kin, Labor Leaders Carrying on His Work, and Distinguished Guests to Witness Unveiling of Artistic Monument Built with Voluntary Contributions of Followers and Friends.

Washington.—The proceedings in an American Federation of Labor assembly customarily are formally effective, self-contained and rapidly progressive to well-considered objectives, sometimes tense and even openly contumacious, seldom spectacular or characterized by the display of any pomp or ceremony.

In dedicating the beautiful memorial to Samuel Gompers, great departed leader, located only a block from that practical and even more significant monument to organized labor which he, himself, had built, the American Federation of Labor Building, its leaders departed only so far from custom as was necessitated to honor the President of the United States, there present to pay tribute to him who had gone, to the work he had done and to the organization to which he had consecrated all of his life.

Multitude Shows Respect

So the multitude of plain citizens from every walk of life who gathered in the concourse, hemming in on every side the ranks of labor delegates facing the platform upon which were President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Marie Dressler, famous actress and personal friend, two sisters, three sons and a grandson of him, all were there, and a select group of distinguished guests, bearing irrefutable evidence of the high esteem Samuel Gompers holds secure in the hearts and imagination of the American people.

From the far ends of the earth came tributes from friends and followers who could not be present—notably a floral wreath from Luis F. Morones in Mexico City, where Mr. Gompers, bent upon promoting amity and cooperation among the workers of the Western Hemisphere by strengthening the foundations of his beloved Pan-American Federation of Labor, was stricken with the fatal illness which hurried him northward "to breathe his last in the land of his adoption;" from Harold Butler, director of the International Labor Office at Geneva, which Mr. Gompers helped to found; from Puerto Rico, Canada and otherwheres too many to name here.

Long Friend of Roosevelt

President Roosevelt who, as a young man, met Mr. Gompers and was accorded his hearty and effective support in a campaign to supply pure milk to undernourished babies in New York City, told how their friendship had been strengthened by their frequent contacts during the strenuous and exacting World War days, and expressed his own sentiments toward labor's war leader by quoting the words of the national leader, whom they both so dearly loved and valiantly served, the late President Wilson:

"If I may be permitted to do so I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

Vaulting the years and carrying his interpretation of the Gompers philosophy down to the present very difficult moment, President Roosevelt declared:

Envisions Gompers Approval

"I like to think that Samuel Gompers is today, and at this moment, aware of the fact that through the quick and practical action of the National Recovery Act, child labor in the United States has at last come to an end."

Summarizing conditions as they exist under his National Recovery program in an address which appears elsewhere in full in this paper, President Roosevelt said:

"There are the perfectly natural problems of selfish individuals who seek personal gain by running counter to the calm judgment of sound leadership.

"There are hot-heads who think that results can be obtained by noise or violence; there are insidious voices seeking to instill methods or principles which are wholly foreign to the American form of democratic government.

"On the part of employers there are some who shudder at anything new. There are some who think in terms of dollars and cents instead of in terms of human lives; there are some who themselves would prefer government by a privileged class instead of by majority rule.

"But it is clear that sum of the recalcitrants on both sides cut a very small figure in the total of employers and employes alike, who are going along whole-heartedly in the war against depression."

Closing his address, President Roosevelt expressed his appreciation of the good faith with which the membership of the American Federation of Labor, rank and file, have carried on, striving ever toward the attainment of the social, economic and political ideals laid down by Mr. Gompers, in the following eloquent and understanding words:

"You of the Federation of Labor and its affiliations are in the broad sense giving the same kind of fine cooperation to your Government, which Samuel Gompers and his associates gave to that same Government in the old days.

"Even as in the old days when I was in the Navy Department, Mr. Gompers and the Federation were at all times on a footing of friendship and cooperation with me—even so today President Green and his associates are working with my Administration toward the attainment of our National purposes.

Majority Understanding

"The overwhelming majority of the workers understand, as do the overwhelming majority of the employers of the country, that this is no time to seek special privilege, undue advantage, or personal gain, because of the fact of a crisis.

"Like the duly constituted officials of your Government, we must put and we are putting unselfish patriotism first.

"That would have been the order of Samuel Gompers if he were with us today."

President Green in his address told how Mr. Gompers, born in England, came to the United States and later became "chieftain" of the labor movement here.

"Today labor places a new value upon his wise counsel, his sound judgment and his foresight," he said.

"The principles of collective bargaining, of cooperation, increased purchasing power through high wages, the limitation of the hours of employment suitable to the manufacturing and economic needs of industry, though regarded as revolutionary when first proclaimed during the early period of Mr. Gompers' career, are now accepted as a fixed part of our governmental policies.

"It is no exaggeration to say that these principles and the plan providing for cooperative human relations in industry, formulated and recommended by Mr. Gompers, are embodied in principle in the National Recovery Act."

Green Pays Glowing Tribute

In concluding his address President Green paid the following tribute to Mr. Gompers:

"The artistic mind of the sculptor who originated and conceived this monument blended into its construction the strength and characteristics of Samuel Gompers and the expression, idealism, solidarity and social implications of the Trade-Union movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor. This monument was erected by the Labor movement with which Mr. Gompers was associated all his life. It is designed to stand in perpetuity as a tribute to the greatness, genius, vision, character and memory of Samuel Gompers.

"In all the years which may follow, the oncoming generations, the youth of the land will behold the figure of Samuel Gompers and through an analysis of the imposing figure whose hands are clasped and whose bearing reflects the dignity, unity and strength of Labor a lesson may be learned of the philosophy, purpose and achievements of the men and women of Labor."

The invocation at the opening of the dedication ceremony was by the Right Rev. James E. Freeman, Episcopal Bishop of Washington. After the unveiling and an appropriate musical program, the benediction was pronounced by the Right Rev. John M. McNamara, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of the Catholic Archdiocese of Baltimore.

CONVENTION MOURNS PASSING OF HILLQUIT

Washington.—The death of Morris Hillquit in New York during the progress of the American Federation of Labor Convention here came as a profound shock to officials and delegates, many of whom were intimate personal friends as well as sincere admirers of this distinguished exponent of the rights of labor and versatile antagonist of all who undertake its exploitation.

President Green voiced his personal sentiments and those of the delegates generally, in a touching tribute as he appointed Delegate Dubinsky, of the Ladies' Garment Workers, to whose success the deceased leader had so greatly contributed, head of a committee to draft the formal resolution of condolence which the Convention unanimously adopted, standing, as follows:

"Whereas, In the death of Morris Hillquit the organized Labor Movement of America has lost one of its staunchest adherents and life-long supporters, and

"Whereas, Morris Hillquit, throughout his public career of a half a century, contributed generously and constructively of his great gifts to the cause of the workers as industrial adviser, speaker, writer and peerless defender before judicial tribunals, and

"Whereas, We recognize that Morris Hillquit incessantly championed the battle of the wage earners for higher standards of living, for the abolition of sweatshop work conditions and for economic and social justice, be it

"Resolved, That the Fifty-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Washington, D. C., express deep sorrow over the demise of Morris Hillquit and unanimously tender its deeply felt condolence to his wife and family in this hour of their bereavement.

Oil Code Boosts Gasoline Cost $450,000,000 Per Year

New York.—Competent authorities estimate that the cost to consumers of gasoline in the United States from the recent increase in prices of crude oil under the NRA code will reach $450,000,000 annually, which is a boost of about 32½ per cent over recent prices. It is believed that those who own and control the oil industry will be able to realize reasonable profits under the new oil prices.

The increased cost of labor under the code to the oil industry, both directly and indirectly, are estimated at $125,000,000 yearly.

ROOSEVELT HONORS MEMORY OF GOMPERS

President of United States, Friend from Young Manhood of Great Labor Chieftain, Eloquently Acknowledges Debt of Nation and Humanity to His Leadership and Philosophy.

Washington.—The full text of the address made by President Roosevelt at the unveiling of the beautiful memorial to Samuel Gompers, departed labor chieftain and former head of the American Federation of Labor, is as follows:

It is fitting that in the Capital of the Nation a statue should stand through the ages, to remind future generations of the services to that Nation of a patriot who served his country well.

It is fitting that the Government, through its representatives, should take part in the dedication of this monument.

It is fitting that I should appear here in my official capacity; but it is also fitting that I should be here in my personal capacity, as one who has always been proud of the personal friendship which he held for many years with Samuel Gompers, and I am glad to see here my old friend and associate and the friend and associate of Samuel Gompers—Frank Morrison.

Three "Radicals"

I knew him first when as a very young man I came to New York City and received his fine support in the establishment of pure milk stations for the feeding of undernourished babies. From then on, we had many mutual tasks.

It is, I think, a commentary on the progress toward social justice which we have accomplished in a short space of time, when I tell you that in the year 1911—only 22 years ago—Samuel Gompers, Robert F. Wagner, Alfred E. Smith and I were labeled as radicals when we fought for and finally succeeded in passing a bill through the New York State Legislature limiting the work of women in industry to 54 hours a week.

Struggles for Social Betterment

These early struggles for social betterment—struggles which in large part were initiated by him—have met with growing success with every passing year.

I like to think that Samuel Gompers is today, and at this moment, aware of the fact that through the quick and practical action of the National Recovery Act, child labor in the United States has at last come to an end.

During the years of the Wilson administration, the friendship between us grew and strengthened.

World War Service

I need not speak of his great service to organized labor in his relations with private employers; but I can speak rightfully of the splendid cooperation which at all times he gave to the sympathetic adjustment of problems relating to workers for the Government itself.

He understood well the fact that those who serve the Government serve the people as a whole.

It was in the fulfillment of this principle that he approached the whole subject of the relationship of labor to the Government at the outbreak of the World War.

As a member of the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense, he was a part of the great organization which met the crisis of war.

But more than that, it was his patriotic leadership for the unanimous mobilization of the workers in every part of the Union which supplemented the mobilization of the men who went to the front.

Wilson's Tribute

The keen analysis of President Wilson made this reference to Mr. Gompers, in November, 1917:

"If I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral."

In those few words President Wilson summed up the splendid national services of Samuel Gompers, and at the same time preached a sermon that applied to capital and labor alike.

Praises Organized Labor

That sermon is just as good today as it was in 1917. We are engaged in another war, and I believe from the bottom of my heart that organized labor is doing its share to win this war.

The whole of the country has a common enemy; industry, agriculture, capital, labor are all engaged in fighting it. Just as in 1917, we are seeking to pull in harness; just as in 1917, horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Mr. Gompers understood and went along with that thought during the years of the war, and we have many evidences of his acceptance of the fact that the horses pulling in harness were the horses of the employes and of the employers as well.

In those years a few, happily a very few, horses had to be lassoed—both kinds of horses, and today the conditions are very similar.

Workers' Problems

In the field of organized labor there are problems just as there were in the Spring of 1917—questions of jurisdiction which have to be settled quickly and effectively in order to prevent the slowing up of the general program.

There are the perfectly natural problems of selfish individuals who seek personal gain by running counter to the calm judgment of sound leadership.

There are hot-heads who think that results can be obtained by noise or violence, there are insidious voices seeking to instill methods or principles which are wholly foreign to the American form of democratic government.

Employers Shudder at Change

On the part of employers, there are some who shudder at anything new. There are some who think in terms of dollars and cents instead of in terms of human lives; there are some who themselves would prefer government by a privileged class instead of by majority rule.

But it is clear that the sum of the recalcitrants on both sides cuts a very small figure in the total of employers and employes alike, who are going along wholeheartedly in the war against depression.

Labor's Cooperation with Government

You of the Federation of Labor and its affiliations are in the broad sense giving the same kind of fine cooperation to your Government which Samuel Gompers and his associates gave to that same Government in the old days.

Even as in the old days when I was in the Navy Department, Mr. Gompers and the Federation were at all times on a footing of friendship and cooperation with me, even so today President Green and his associates are working with my administration toward the attainment of our national purposes.

The overwhelming majority of the workers understand, as do the overwhelming majority of the employers of the country, that this is no time to seek special privilege, undue advantage or personal gain, because of the fact of a crisis.

Like the duly constituted officials of your Government, we must put and we are putting unselfish patriotism first.

That would have been the order of Samuel Gompers if he were with us today.

Green Explains Organized Labor Aims in Episcopal Cathedral Talk

Consonance with Ethics of Christianity, Both Ideal and Aplied, Is Thesis—The Answer to Difficult and Pressing Social and Economic Problems, He Declares, Is Observance of the Rule of Righteousness in Human Endeavor.

Washington.—A comprehensive exposition of the aims and methods of organized labor and its consonance with those of both ideal and applied Christianity was delivered at the National Cathedral here, by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, upon special invitation of the Right Rev. James E. Freeman, Episcopal Bishop of Washington.

Taking his theme from the biblical story of Ruth and Boaz, President Green outlined the relationships that exist between employers, at the present time, which, he said, unfortunately have not yet reached the ideal. Pointing out that we now are faced by instability of industry accompanied by social, economic and ethical problems arising out of the new order, he urged as the truly Christian answer that "the rule of righteousness in human endeavor must be observed."

President Green said, in part:

In the story of Ruth, as recorded in the Holy Word, we find a passage which illustrates an ideal condition existing between employes and employee.

The fourth verse of the second chapter reads, "And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem and said unto the reapers, 'The Lord be with you.' And they answered him, 'The Lord bless the.'" Today, if we could have that same feeling of brotherhood, that same spirit of loving kindness in industry, that the reapers had with their employer, we would have much more happiness in this world and much less unrest, distrust and woe.

Boaz, a God-fearing man, a land owner, came to his fields with a blessing for his workers, and they, looking at their employer with trust and confidence, returned his salutation with their blessing, "The Lord be with thee." And Boaz prospered and from his line came David and later the Son of God, the Christ.

Modern Wealth Production

Today our life is far removed from the early agricultural life of the time recorded in this book of the Bible.

Agriculture, however, is still a great and important industry. The land owner, the farmer continues to be a most important factor in modern civilization.

Our industry is not confined to the agricultural pursuits and herding and the few commercial occupations that were the sources livelihood in the days of the romance of Ruth and Boaz.

Today, great cities stand; today, great mills and factories are pulsating with life; today, our commercial and manufacturing enterprises are great producers of wealth.

Industrial Relationships

But, notwithstanding the lapse of centuries of time, the relationship of employer and employe remains very largely the same.

As Boaz hired his reapers for the harvest, as he took his men unto him that his wealth might be gathered in from the fields, so do our modern industrialists employ workers in factories, plants, mines and quarries so that the wealth of the present-day world may be produced.

Even the blessing performed by Boaz and his employes extends to those workers and employers who have an understanding and an appreciation of the part each plays in the production, progress and success of each undertaking.

As the employer makes it possible for his employes to live and share equitably in the wealth he produces, as he instills in the workers the feeling of trust and confidence, and as the precepts and standards of religion and harmony of human relationship are made effective, as collective bargaining is practiced and arbitration boards and wage agreements are set up by mutual consent and industry protects it workers, then, truly, does the blessing read, "The Lord be with you," and the laborers lift up their hearts with the response, "The Lord bless the."

Rule of Righteousness

Unfortunately, an ideal relationship between employer and employe has not been generally reached.

Today we are faced with the great problems of instability in industry.

We are face to face with social, economic and ethical problems which have arisen from the new order of things, and which require a greatness and unselfishness of purpose to solve.

The rule of righteousness in human endeavor must be observed.

The responsibilities of employers and employes toward each other must be appreciated and the relationship of capital and labor must be carried on with justice and fairness.

Class hatred must not be encouraged and believed in.

Interdependence of Labor and Capital

The American Federation of Labor maintains that there should be a balanced and harmonious relationship between the forces that make up industry.

There must be mutual respect and a proper regard for the rights of both capital and labor. Each is dependent upon the other. Neither can permanently prosper at the expense of the other.

Modern-day life and modern industrial processes have made us interdependent factors.

The manufacturer cannot say, "I shall run my industrial house without the aid of human knowledge and guidance. I shall deprive the people of employment."

The moment that happens he has destroyed his market, and with it the life of the workers and the life of the industry. What need to produce and produce with no one to consume?

Nor can the worker say, "I shall go away and live apart. I shall isolate myself from my fellow-workers."

Civilization Based on Group Action

Our civilization is not one of hermitage. We live with others. We are grouped together in our communities. We worship together, we are educated in groups, in every phase of our living we are brought into contact with our fellows.

Even in the more isolated places we are bound together in our churches and schools; and through the medium of the radio and the press and the highways and transportation lines great distances have been spanned and communication time has been reduced to a minimum.

Our livelihoods are earned collectively. We depend upon each other in the marts of trade; we are dependent upon our fellow workers and our related industries and occupations.

Why, then, may not labor and capital be tolerant, conscious of the mutual responsibility which binds them so closely together?

Collective Bargaining Is Labor's Strength

The strength of labor does not lie in the form of lump sums of money.

Its strength is in the will of men and women to work, in their power to bargain collectively, in the exercise of the right to select spokesmen to represent them and to speak for them in the conference room and in the legislative forums of the states and the Nation.

Their strength lies in their will to stand united for a realization of the benefits and comforts that are justly due them for the knowledge, time and skill spent in turning labor into a useful, goodly force, and in their purchasing power which capital must have in order to exist.

Employer's Power Lies in Profits

The strength of the employer lies in his power of money, huge sums, the wealth derived as profits from the work and service of his employes, and the wealth which is turned back into industry by the purchasing power of those who needs must buy his wares.

In the Scriptures we read Paul's message to the Colossians, "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven."

Labor Representation in Management

The American Federation of Labor contends that in addition to fair wages working men and women should be accorded fair representation with management in industry, an equitable division of work available and the enjoyment of conditions of work that are conducive to national well being, good citizenship and brotherhood. There must be a clear understanding and mutual respect of individual and collective rights.

High Living Standards for Workers

The employer of labor gives his blessing in the form of a fair income so that an American standard of living commensurate with the wealth which the worker helps to produce can be established and maintained, a work week short enough to enable him to enjoy the advantages and privileges which are around him, hours of leisure to spend in his home with his family and a sense of security.

Big Profits vs. Starvation Pay

It is not just that a man or woman is deprived of an opportunity to earn a decent living because of the maladjustment of industry.

It is not meet that little children must suffer cold, harsh winters.

There is no equality of justice in large corporations piling up great profits and the stockholders gaining thereby while the men and women who labored in the industry are let out in groups to face life without the wherewithal to secure the bare necessities of life.

Employers Must Provide Work for All

If industry takes men and women unto itself it assumes also the responsibilities of providing work opportunities for them, not during the rush season alone, not during a period of prosperity only, but during the time that industry is dependent upon them.

When, because of unemployment, purchasing power is gone, when the savings of the wage earners are spent, then industry feels the loss of the millions of dollars that are spent annually by the wage earners.

The market for manufactured goods and products has been destroyed.

Those who would buy and consume goods are unable to do so. Poverty, distress and crime inevitably follow.

All of these evil consequences flow from unemployment.

Fear of No Work

When the stain of poverty and want has been implanted upon the hearts and minds of the wage earners the fear of returning unemployment is ever present.

They will not spend freely, they will hoard the money they receive or use it to pay up old debts.

Thus the new market will not return in the twinkling of an eye.

The seeds of unrest and unhappiness, sown during the past winter in many places are now bearing fruit.

It is not fair that men and women and their families must again face the rigors of a distressing winter, ill clothed and fed, filled with the dread of no work. "Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven."

Study well into the workings of your industries. Reckon the output of your factories, meet with your workers, know the value of their friendship, help in the establishment of wage agreements and arbitration boards, put business upon a sound footing.

Unemployment Crisis This Winter

We are facing another severe winter of unemployment. Millions of men and women are idle and are seeking work. Many homes have been broken during the past year, the morale of the men and women who have been out of work is weakened. When hope dies in the heart of men and women there is danger lurking near. This condition must be alleviated.

Through the acceleration of the Nation's public works program and the placement of willing and able workmen through the application of the National Recovery Act the suffering of this winter can be kept down.

Distress of Destitute Jobless

Immediate steps must be taken to relieve distress and human suffering caused by unemployment.

Wages must be maintained. The purchasing power of the people must be kept up.

There must be no slackening of concerted effort to bring this Nation out of the depression into which we have been plunged.

Labor, capital and Government must stand united for the mutual benefit of all, each realizing that only by cooperation and understanding can prosperity again return.

The people of our country are looking to the leaders of these three groups and [illegible] to lift the clouds that are hanging over them.

Five-Day Work Week

We, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, are striving as best we know how [illegible] public works, maintain the high level of wages that we have struggled for [illegible] the five-day work week [illegible] in every way possible give our people the feeling that [illegible] "The Lord be with you."